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## NOTES ON THE USE OF THE HEBREW TENSES.

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The work upon which these notes are based originated in a sense of dissatisfaction with the treatment of the subject in some of the best known elementary grammars, e. g., Davidson's Grammar<sup>1</sup> and Müller's Syntax. One would have been quite prepared to have found the treatment of so difficult a subject incomplete in parts and to have found points left uncertain. But statements as to the tenses have an air of completeness and symmetry and certainty which raises high expectations, and it seemed to me that these expectations were not realized and that the enquiring student does not derive from such works so much help towards comprehension as he might expect. I found also that these impressions were shared by others.

Probably the form in which ideas about Hebrew tenses first shape themselves in the student's brain is that, where possible, a Perfect is translated as a past tense and an Imperfect as a future, and that, if such translations are impossible, considerable latitude is allowed in translation and the best must be made of the verb in the interests of the sense. It is felt, however, that this theory of the tenses can be only temporary and the student turns to statements of the syntax of the verb in the hope of attaining a better and more permanent theory.

He finds a statement of this syntax which might be briefly represented by the following complete and symmetrical table:

Perfect = Imperfect with Waw Cons.		Imperfect = Perfect with Waw Cons.	
<i>Past</i>	I did	I was doing	
	I have done	I used to do	
	I had done		
<i>Present</i>	I do	I do	
<i>Future</i>	I shall have done	I shall do	

<sup>1</sup> This statement must not be understood as implying any want of appreciation of Davidson's Grammar as a whole. But having as a teacher some little experience of its use as a text-book, I have become more and more convinced that it must be the author's intention that it should be explained, supplemented or qualified by oral teaching; so that probably many of the criticisms in these notes would be obviated when the book is used by Prof. Davidson himself.

There is an air of mathematical accuracy about a statement of this kind. It suggests that, given your tense, the statement of the syntax thereof is a kind of function of the tense which can be obtained by a known process of expansion. Perhaps, however, an air of mathematical accuracy is a little suspicious in syntax. The student wishes to understand the principles that determine the occurrence and distribution of the several tenses, and to know why in any given case a particular Hebrew Imperfect is to be translated by one rather than another of its possible English equivalents. He feels that his first impression from the syntax is that there is still left a free choice without any special preference for past or future, or possibly any special attention to the sense. If his faith in the possibility of Hebrew syntax is not destroyed he is apt to feel dissatisfied with the present method of its exposition. These statements of syntax suggest a neat key of convenient size which can be inserted in a lock and turns right round in the lock, but unfortunately does not turn the lock.

It may, of course, be suggested that these impressions are due to the elementary state of the student's knowledge, but as elementary works are presumably written for elementary students, they ought to add to his comprehension of the subject even when his knowledge is in an elementary stage.

Moreover, it is still the case that the old theory of the tenses is maintained and taught, and that there are students whose first introduction to the subject has been through such teaching. These students, when told that their original teaching is not orthodox, would gladly find in the hand-books of the new school some statement of the difference between the two theories and especially of the practical result of the change of the theory on interpretation and translation. This statement seems as a rule not to be forthcoming. It stands to reason that a total change of theory is likely to affect translation, and if left without exact information the convert from the old theory to the new is apt to imagine almost all translation affected. If his reading is confined to historical portions and he finds that the translations suggested by his old theory still very largely hold good, he may become a little sceptical as to the importance of holding a correct theory. If the students of an ancient system of astronomy had been in the habit of calculating the date of eclipses under their ancient theory, conversion to the Copernican system might seem to them to involve the discarding of these dates; and if without previous explanation they were allowed to discover that after all the eclipses occurred on the dates calculated on the old theory, their views as to the relative merits of the two systems might again become unsettled.

There are other points, too, on which the student might reasonably look for clear statement, even if it were only of the fact that grammarians (if such be the case) have not yet completely mastered the subject. It is obvious at a very elementary stage that the conditions and methods of use of the tenses in poetical sections are very different from those in narrative sections; but beyond fragmen-



tary notices in the symmetrical expansion already referred to there is no plain statement of the main differences of poetic and prosaic style.

Again, we learn our Hebrew too much at second hand through German and, naturally, translations of a German syntax. Grammars that reproduce the phrases of Ewald are apt to forget to connect the usage of the Hebrew tenses with those of the English tenses.

As the standard text-books are supposed to state the current views clearly and concisely for the benefit of the student, it seemed that the next step might be to attempt to apply the results as given in these books to the reading of some considerable portions of the Old Testament, rather than to seek the further and more detailed exposition of them in larger grammars.

I was specially interested in trying to observe the amount of practical change involved in the substitution of the ideas of Perfect and Imperfect for those of Past and Future; it seemed simpler to begin with narrative portions of the Old Testament, and the Pentateuch together with Joshua seemed to present a fairly convenient whole.

Accordingly I read these books specially attending to the use of the Perfect and Imperfect tenses, and noting each occurrence of these tenses in a table of twelve columns arranged thus:

*Perfect*

1. Cases where the Hebrew Perfect may be translated as a Past Tense without any difficulty as regards context.
2. Cases where such a translation is difficult.
3. Cases where such a translation seems rendered impossible by the context.

*Imperfect with Waw Cons.*

- |    |   |                                                                               |
|----|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4. | } | As in case of Perfect, substituting "Imperfect with Waw Cons." for "Perfect." |
| 5. |   |                                                                               |
| 6. |   |                                                                               |

*Imperfect.*

7. Cases where the Hebrew Imperfect may be translated by an English Future, Present, or Subjunctive, or by *may*, *can*, etc.
8. Cases where the Imperfect has a frequentative sense.
9. Cases where it seems necessary to translate the Imperfect by the English Past Imperfect or other past tense.

*Perfect with Waw Cons.*

- |     |   |                                                                                |
|-----|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 10. | } | As in case of Imperfect, substituting "Perfect with Waw Cons." for "Imperfect" |
| 11. |   |                                                                                |
| 12. |   |                                                                                |

It will be seen that the second and third columns under each tense will contain the cases which seem specially to strain the "Past and Future" theory and which seem to be more manageable under the "Perfect and Imperfect" theory.

They may be stated as those in which on the one hand a Perfect or Imperfect with Waw Cons. has to be translated as a Future, and on the other an Imperfect or Perfect with Waw Cons. as a Past. The use of either tense as present, and the Subjunctive, Potential Imperative and Optative uses of the Imperfect seem to give no special difficulty under either theory.

Before giving the results of this work, it may be as well to point out that it is not intended to imply that the results are due to careful and thorough consideration of difficult cases; these are simply noted as difficult. Moreover, many cases are put in the first column under each tense, which might possibly be assigned to the second. In this arrangement I have been guided by the possibilities of translation into English Past and Futures or allied tenses, and I have also followed recognized translations. However, something more will be said on this point below.<sup>1</sup>

The results were as follows:

<i>Perfect</i>	1	2	3
	2827	5	1
<i>Imperfect with Waw Cons.</i>	4	5	6
	4829	2	—
<i>Imperfect</i>	7	8	9
	4116	51	33
<i>Perfect with Waw Cons.</i>	10	11	12
	2584	46	22

Neglecting for the present the extremely small number of instances in 2, 3, 5 and 6, we see that we may state the following approximate rules:

1. That the Perfect, or Imperfect with Waw Cons., may be translated as the English Perfect or Pluperfect.

2. That the Imperfect, or Perfect with Waw Cons., is only rarely used of the past.

3. That the Imperfect, or Perfect with Waw Cons., occurs very occasionally in a frequentative sense of past time.

It may also be noticed that 1, 4, 7, 10 contain the cases where translation is not affected by change of theory; and that the matter affording the chief ground for debate and some of the data for argument are comprised in the other columns; and that the debatable matter is extremely small in proportion.

It will be seen from the table and rule 1, that the cases where the Perfect,

<sup>1</sup> It will be obvious that to be perfectly sure that no errors from inadvertence have crept in would require much time, more time than I have had at my disposal. But this is perhaps less important than it would be in some other cases, as the proportion between the numbers in columns 1, 4, 7, 10 and those in the other columns is too great to be affected by mere inadvertencies.



etc., are used for prophetic perfect, strong affirmation, and where in English we use a present which implies a perfect, are included by a certain elasticity of interpretation in rule 1. The defence of this position is reserved for a section on the use of the English tenses as illustrating that of the Hebrew tenses.

If the cases mentioned in the last paragraph were separated from those in which the Perfect and the Imperfect with Waw Cons. are used as simple past tenses, it would be found that the former are few in comparison with the latter and that for the great bulk of occurrences of these forms the following rules might be laid down:

1. That in narrative the Perfect is used as the ordinary narrative tense when the verb is not immediately preceded by a Waw, i. e.,

a. In Oratio Recta.

b. In dependent, interrogative and negative sentences.

c. In cases where some emphatic word (or words) is placed before the verb.

It is, of course, to be understood that "narrative tense" is confined here to past tense used in narrative.

2. That in narrative the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is used as the ordinary narrative tense in independent sentences except in interrogative and negative sentences and where other words are placed before the verb for the sake of emphasis.

One or two limitations of the latter rule will be noticed further on. It is only attempted here to give such rough statements of usage of the tenses as might fairly be submitted to students with the caution that they might have to be somewhat modified.

The uses of the Imperfect and its allied Perfect with Waw do not readily lend themselves to wide and simple generalizations.

It now remains to notice briefly the cases not included in our rules, namely, those in 2, 3, 5, 6, 9 and 12.

2, 3. Gen. XVIII., 12 הִיתָה־לִּי עֲרֵנָה. Both AV. and RV. translate as future, which is doubtless the most idiomatic English equivalent of the Hebrew; but might not the literal meaning of the root and force of the tense be fairly represented by "Has pleasure come to me?"

Gen. XL., 14 כִּי אִם יִכְרֹתֵנִי. Driver, p. 169 n., and Ewald as quoted by him, both treat this case as exceptional and reject the translation as imperative given by AV. and RV.

Exod. IX., 15 כִּי עָתָה שְׁלַחְתִּי. The RV. changes the future of the AV. into a past conditional, which removes all difficulty as to use of tense and context.

Exod. XXI., 37 וַתִּבְחֹ אוֹ מִכְרוֹ, xxii., 9 וַתִּשְׁבֶּה אוֹ נִשְׁבֶּה, xxii., 13 וַתִּשְׁבֶּר אוֹ מָת. It might indeed be possible to translate the Perfects without Waw strictly, e. g., "and shall slay it or have sold it," but such a trans-

lation seems very awkward. Might not, however, the  $\text{ין}$  connect the latter verb with the former so closely as to bring the latter so to speak under the vinculum of the Waw?

5. These two cases are Imperfects with Waw, co-ordinate with the Perfect in Exod. ix., 15, already referred to, and may be similarly explained.

Thus the only case that presents any serious difficulty so far is that in Gen. xl., 14, and the amount of exception to the rule 1 on p. 196 is very slight indeed.

It will also be seen that of the cases included under 9 and 12 many might fairly be taken as frequentative.

9. In the first place, 24 out of the 33 occur in poetical sections, Exod. xv.; Deut. xxxii.; Exod. xxxiii., 8, 9. Two are frequentative, Exod. xxxvi., 29, Gen. vi., 4 (so Driver). One, Deut. xxxiii., 3, may without any great difficulty be taken as a future. There remain six cases which cannot be explained satisfactorily unless as referring to past time, and not frequentative; four of these, Gen. xxxvii., 7; Exod. viii., 20; Num. xxiii., 7; Deut. ii., 12, are taken by Driver as analogous to our Historical Present; and the other two, Gen. ii., 25 and xlviii., 10, are left as unsolved problems.

12. Of these 22, 12 might be taken as frequentative: Five, Gen. xxxi., 7; xxxvii., 3; Josh. vi., 8, 13; Exod. xxxvi., 29, are referred to by Driver as frequentative; five others, Exod. xxxvi., 30, 38; xxxviii., 28; xxxix., 3, are in a similar context to Exod. xxxvi., 29. The other two are Gen. xxi., 25; xlix., 23. One, Num. xxi., 15, might fairly be taken as a future;<sup>1</sup> one, Deut. xxxiii., 2, is in a poetical section. There remain *eight* which do not seem to yield to any satisfactory explanation, except as referring to past time and that not in a frequentative sense; one of these, Gen. xv., 6, Driver speaks of as an "isolated irregularity;" the others are, Gen. xxviii., 6;<sup>2</sup> xxxiv., 5; xxxviii., 5; xxxviii., 9 (two cases); Josh. ix., 12;<sup>1</sup> xxii., 4. One is naturally tempted to consider these as cases of the Perfect with weak Waw, and some of them are so taken by Driver. But perhaps it might be preferable to leave these eight cases all of them an "insoluble enigma," for the following reasons:

a. Because we have seen that similar cases occur in the Imperfect where we cannot resort to any change of force of the Waw.

b. Because these cases are so "exceedingly rare" in historical sections of the earlier books.

c. Because the change from the obsolete construction with Waw Cons. to the current construction with weak Waw was a species of error in the copying

<sup>1</sup> This list of eight would, according to Driver, have to be extended to fifteen. It is beyond the scope of these notes to enter minutely into individual cases; most of Driver's cases are included in those which seem to need translating by the Past Imperfect; and in the further analysis of this class I only attempt to show that in some cases there are plausible grounds for setting aside this seeming necessity. (Cf. Driver, p. 187).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. preceding foot-note and Driver, p. 189.



that scribes would be peculiarly liable to, and these cases may be cases of corrupt text.

Thus we see that out of nearly 7000 cases, rules 1-3 on p. 196 cover all but about 14. Hence we maintain that as far as the historical sections of the Hexateuch are concerned, it is misleading to co-ordinate the use of the Imperfect in the Past with its Present, Future and Subjunctive and kindred uses. Yet it is so co-ordinated in Davidson and Müller, and the student is left to gather from incidental remarks that even the frequentative use is comparatively rare and that in historical sections any other use of the Imperfect of past time is most exceptional. Surely, therefore, rule 2 on p. 196 would better help the student to a clear understanding of the usage; while the exceptional cases might be referred to or even enumerated in a note.

#### THE SEQUENCE OF THE TENSES.

The rules given on page 197 are not only empirical in form rather than scientific, but they omit and ignore the usual statement that the Imperfect with Waw Cons. depends on an initial Perfect. Now I do not in any way deny or even criticize the orthodox theory that the use of the Imperfect with Waw Cons. originated in such a construction, nor, of course, do I deny that a Perfect followed by Imperfects with Waw is a common construction. But I maintain that the usual statements on the subject are misleading, inaccurate and sometimes a trifle absurd. It would, of course, be utterly unreasonable to ascribe these characteristics to any want of knowledge or appreciation of the language on the part of the writers; it seems merely to be due to an enthusiasm of the scientific statement and elaboration of theory to which a clear statement of the actual usage of the tenses is altogether subordinated.

The following are some of the statements referred to:

1. Bickell's Outlines of Hebrew Grammar, § 152 Curtiss' translation: "If a narrative begins with the Perfect, it is continued in the apocopated form of the future with *va*."

This is the only reference in a very brief outline of syntax as to the use of the "future with *va*." Standing by itself it would certainly convey to the reader the idea that the "future with *va*" never occurred except under these conditions; or at any rate that this use of it was much more common than any other.

2. Davidson's Grammar, pp. 60, 61: "After a simple *perfect* events conceived as following upon this Perfect are expressed by the emphatic Vav joined with the *imperfect*."

This is given conspicuously in the largest type used in the book as "*the usage*;" at the bottom of the next page in a note dealing with two other points and printed in the smallest type used in the book, we read:

"The converse tenses are properly used after simple tenses, but the usage has pervaded the language to such an extent that they may be employed when no

simple tense actually precedes; and in translating into Hebrew *and* with a verb may generally be expressed by the converse tense."

The impression obviously conveyed by words, position and type is that the construction spoken of as "*the usage*" is by far the most common, and that the construction which "*may be*" employed is infrequent, if not exceptional.

3. Müller's Syntax, Robertson's translation, pp. 13, 14: "The Imperfect with ׀ appears in its use as quite equivalent to the simple Perfect; and indeed even stands instead of it in all places where a discourse begun with the simple Perfect is carried on uninterruptedly in the context; it can, moreover, be used in continuation of other verbal forms instead of a simple Perfect wherever the latter would be admissible.

"Rem. a. As soon as a new order of thought begins, which is not to be taken as closely connected with what precedes, the Perfect is necessary."

This statement leaves us with more latitude; we should still suppose that the construction of Imperfect with Waw was usual and most frequent, but that it sometimes occurred after other verbal forms.

Later on this is modified in a guarded and limited fashion, but we are left to suppose that the use "with any word whatever" is entirely subordinate.

The lessons which the student would suppose intended to be taught by the above statements would be:

1. That the Imperfect with Waw is most commonly found after a simple Perfect; less frequently after other verbal forms and occasionally after "any word whatever."

[Müller indeed states that the latter construction or rather a large group of constructions of which this is one, is found "very often." But in a syntax "very often" at the head of a subordinate paragraph after the broad and general statement at the beginning of the quotation would only be understood to mean that the construction occurred often enough to be considered regular and not exceptional; apart from such a context we should use "occasionally" for what would here be understood by "very often."]

2. That the Perfect is commonly found as the first verb of a paragraph and that the Imperfect with Waw is never found.

While the mode in which the construction of the Perfect and of the Imperfect with Waw is stated in Bickell and Davidson would suggest some such conclusion, Müller's statement that at the beginning of a new order of thought not closely connected with what precedes a Perfect is *necessary*, almost shuts the student up to such a conclusion. In fact the tendency of the student, accustomed in other languages to a syntax that deals chiefly with sentences, is to apply these statements to sentences. He has visions of a series of Hebrew sentences, each beginning with a Perfect and containing one or more Imperfects with Waw Cons. Müller's



“Remark” may suggest to him that sentences are often closely connected with each other and do not always begin a new order of thought; but he probably supposes that a new order of thought may be understood to begin with a new paragraph, a new chapter, when chapters are at all reasonably divided. One might suppose, for instance, that a new order of thought began at Gen. xxxviii., 1, where the story of Tamar interrupts the history of Joseph.

These then are the ideas that the student would derive from such works on Hebrew syntax as to the distribution of the Perfect and Imperfect with Waw Cons., and their relation to one another. The impression given by the actual reading of the Hexateuch is entirely different. Instead of a series of sentences, each beginning with a Perfect, he finds that the main verbs of the independent sentences are almost always Imperfects with Waw Cons. and that the occurrence of a Perfect in such a capacity is rare, the Perfects are mostly found in dependent sentences and *oratio recta*.

These Perfects being rare, it follows that the construction Perfect followed by Imperfect with Waw Cons. is also comparatively rare. Taking a few chapters or sections in which Perfects and Imperfects with Waw Cons. occur pretty freely we get such results as the following:

Gen. v.—vi., 8 **ספר תולדת אדם**. The construction occurs once, after the **כָּרָא** of verse 2, the main verbs are Imperfects with Waw Cons. for *thirty-eight* verses.

The **הָיָה** of vi., 4 is parenthetic and the **וַיֵּרָא** of verse 5 takes up the narrative from vi., 3.

Gen. x.—xi., 9. In verse 1, **וַיִּלְדוּ** following the bare names Shem, Ham and Japhet; then in verses 8 and 9 a series of three Perfects and then an Imperfect with Waw Cons. Though the section is rich in Perfects the construction in question is only found again in verses 11, 19 (though it seems strained to connect **וַיְהִי** with either of the two preceding Perfects, 29; xi., 1, whence the series of Waw Cons. continues for eight verses, the **הָיָה** in verse 3 is parenthetic.

Similarly in Exod. i. and ii., out of forty-seven verses this construction is found in *five* cases, i., 6, 7, 17; ii., 3, 19; in two of these, i., 17 and ii., 3, the use of the Imperfect is rendered impossible by the presence of **לֹא** and another, ii., 19, is in the *oratio recta*.

In Lev. ix., out of 24 verses this construction [is found in verses 1, 11, 13, 21.

In Num. xvii., out of 28 verses this construction is found in verses 7, 12 and 23, in each case in a parenthesis, the main line of narrative consisting of a series of Imperfects with Waw Cons., and if we look for an initial Perfect, we have to go back to the preceding chapter.

Deut. xxxiv. Out of twelve verses the construction occurs *once* in verses 7, 8, and even there **וַיִּבְכּוּ** does not seem to connect with the previous Perfects.

Josh. ix. Out of twenty-seven verses the construction occurs in verses 3, 14, 18, 24, 27; in 18 the presence of the Perfect is due to the לָ, and in 14 and 27 the sequence seems doubtful.

It follows from examples like these that the cases in which the Imperfect with Waw Cons. occurs within reach, i. e., within two or three verbs of a simple Perfect, are rare. To use symbols, let P denote a simple Perfect, I an Imperfect with Waw Cons., then the combinations P+I, P+2I, P+3I, occur but rarely; when the Imperfects are traceable to any Perfect we find series of the type P+nI where n is large, and consequently the number of such series is in inverse ratio to the average value of n, and the number of series and number of Perfects occurring at the head of series are small. Hence in most instances the actual sequence in the case of Imperfects with Waw Cons. is that one such Imperfect follows another; by continuing the process you may ultimately get back without any serious break to an initial Perfect, or as we shall try to show, you may *not*.

The most crucial test of the actual dependence of Imperfects with Waw Cons. on preceding words will naturally be found by examining the beginning of paragraphs, and the same investigation deals with our second point as to the presence or absence of Perfects, and of Imperfects with Waw Cons. in such a position. If the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is always or most often in dependence on something else, and a series of such Imperfects must ultimately rest on a Perfect or its equivalent, then an Imperfect with Waw Cons. will never or only rarely be found at the beginning of a paragraph. As Müller says, it will only be found where a "discourse begun with the simple Perfect is carried on uninterruptedly in the context" and whenever "a new order of thought begins" the Perfect is necessary.

Unfortunately for the purpose of investigation, the process of division into suitable paragraphs is largely a subjective one. An author who has laid down the rule that whenever a new order of thought begins, the Perfect is necessary, will be apt to consider the presence of a Perfect a sufficient indication of a new order of thought. In criticizing such an author one is tempted to err in an opposite direction. However, to avoid this difficulty, I have followed almost exclusively certain recognized divisions, as follows:

1. The Hebrew divisions of the Pentateuch.
2. The chapters.
3. The books of the Bible (O. T.).
4. Kayser's Elohist sections of the Pentateuch.
5. The paragraphs of the Book of Joshua in the Revised Version.

1. The Hebrew divisions of the Pentateuch.  
 a. The larger divisions. Of these a large majority begin immediately with an Imperfect and Waw Cons. in all the five books except Deuteronomy. In Deuteronomy two of these divisions begin thus, one begins similarly, namely, with a



Perfect and Waw Cons., one has a simple Perfect for its first verb and three others are irrelevant, since they contain exhortation and not narrative.

*b.* The smaller divisions. Here, too, there is a large majority of those beginning with an Imperfect and Waw Cons. over those in which such an Imperfect is introduced by a tense or phrase. Here also there is so little direct narrative in Deuteronomy that little evidence can be obtained thence.

2. The chapters. Here again, Deuteronomy being for the above reason excluded and Joshua being now included, the result is the same as in 1, only the preponderance of initial Imperfects with the Waw Cons. is greater.

3. The books of the Old Testament (historical, or beginning with a historical section).

*Eleven*, viz., Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 2 Kings, Jonah, Ruth, Esther and 2 Chron. begin with Imperfect and Waw Cons.

*Six*, viz., Genesis, Exodus, 1 Kings, Job, Daniel and Ezra have an initial Perfect.

*Three*, viz., Deuteronomy, Nehemiah and 1 Chronicles do not fall into either of the above classes.

The fact that some books now separated were originally combinations of others weakens but does not destroy the evidence given above.

4. Kayser's Elohistic sections of the Pentateuch (as given in C. V. Rysell's *De Elohistæ Pentateuchi Sermone*).

I have used these, simply because it seems likely that where a writer selects passages of three or four or more verses and separates them from their context as belonging to a different author, he recognizes some break in the order of thought at the beginning and end, and such sections, as well as the sections left when these are taken away, are a kind of paragraph. In using these paragraphs we are following the independent judgment of a distinguished scholar.

Here again the sections beginning with Imperfects with Waw Cons. are in a great majority.

5. The paragraphs into which the Book of Job is divided in the RV.

The paragraphs in the Revised Version follow so closely the divisions of the Hebrew text that it did not seem worth while to investigate both sets for the same book. For the sake of variety, we have taken the paragraphs of the RV. in this one book with a very similar result to that obtained in all the other cases.

We may also notice that the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is often found after speeches, sometimes long speeches in the oratio recta. Here surely we can scarcely say that the original discourse has proceeded uninterruptedly, or that there is no break in the order of thought. Striking instances of this are: after the last charge of Jacob, Gen. XLIX., 33; after the Song of Moses, Exod. XV., 20; after the last prophecy of Balaam, Num. XXIV., 25; after the Blessing of Moses, Deut. XXXIV., 1.

We may also notice the sections beginning with **אלה תולדות** or similar words. With the exception of those in Num. iii., 1 seq., Ruth iv., 18 seq., these are all found in Genesis. The presence of these initial words renders it impossible to have an Imperfect with Waw Cons. at the head of the section. In seven cases we have following this heading or title a Perfect followed by Imperfect and Waw Cons. In another case (Gen. ii., 4), we have two verses with no main verb expressed, then an Imperfect in a frequentative sense, and somewhat later an Imperfect with Waw Cons. In five other cases an Imperfect with Waw Cons. follows a clause or clauses in which no main verb is expressed, and in Ruth i., 18 seq. we have a series of Perfects extending over five verses. One would scarcely expect the order of thought to change so constantly in the course of a genealogy.

Thus the result of this investigation is that so far from the Imperfect with Waw Cons. never or rarely occurring at the beginning of a paragraph, this construction occurs at the beginning of paragraphs much oftener than the simple Perfect, and is perhaps the most common beginning.

On the strength of these facts we maintain that there is no sufficient evidence in these six books of any conscious dependence of Imperfect with Waw Cons. on Perfects, other than the dependence always suggested by a Waw. If the writer had felt that grammar demanded a Perfect or its equivalent before an Imperfect with Waw Cons.; this feeling must have had a perceptible influence on the way in which paragraphs begin.

If it is said that in all cases where the Imperfect with Waw Cons. begins a paragraph, the division is so slight as to allow the connection to be carried back over the division to a preceding Perfect, we reply that the division in thought is often as great as it can be in a connected historical work, and that the breaks after which the Perfect is used are no more marked than those after which we have the Imperfect with Waw Cons.

As to the division in thought, we have already pointed out that this Imperfect is found when the narrative style is resumed after a long speech in oratio recta, and again where the scene and subject of a narrative suddenly change, as when the history of Joseph is interrupted by the episode of Tamar.

Then as to the occurrence of the Perfect after slight breaks, let us take the six Toledoth sections which have an initial Perfect; five of these sections, Genesis v., 1 seq.; vi., 9 seq.; xi., 27 seq.; xxxvi., 1 seq.; xxxvii., 2 seq., follow closely some mention of the subject of the Toledoth; in the case of Gen. xxv., 19, the Toledoth of Isaac naturally follow those of Ishmael.

We may also notice that Perfects like Imperfects with Waw Cons. have a tendency to run in series; for instance while the Toledoth Adam, Gen. v., 1, consists of an unbroken series of such Imperfects, in the Toledoth of the sons of Noah the main line of the genealogy is kept up by a series of Perfects. Compare also the genealogy which concludes the Book of Ruth; also in Gen. xiv., 2-5 there



is a series of five Perfects, in Gen. XIX., 23, 24 we have a series of three Perfects, and so again in Gen XXVII, 37.

The Perfects at the beginning of these Toledoth sections perhaps follow as marked a break in the narrative as any Perfects; while those within these sections follow as slight a break as any; and the range between these two extremes is about the same as that between the most and least marked break which is followed by an Imperfect with Waw Cons.

We are now in a position to recur to the case of a long series of Imperfects with Waw Cons. with an initial Perfect. We stated as a deduction from the frequency of such series that the tense most often preceding an Imperfect with Waw Cons. was a similar tense. It would have been scarcely worth while to notice this for its own sake; it might seem too obvious, and yet many less obvious facts are stated in grammars; and the fact that an indefinitely long series of such Imperfects may depend upon a single Perfect is sufficiently novel and striking to be explicitly stated. The ordinary student has forgotten all about the initial Perfect by the time he has had six or seven Imperfects, and if these tenses really are dependent on the initial Perfect, it is well that the student should be reminded of the fact.

But if we decide that the initial Perfect is not to be credited with this long line of Imperfects, then the series is chiefly important as illustrating the principle that the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is the ordinary tense in simple narrative. It not only illustrates the principle, but furnishes new evidence to establish it. We have pointed out that the Perfect of Gen. v., 2 is followed by a series of sixty-five Imperfects with Waw, a series unbroken except by Perfects in dependent sentences and parentheses. According to the ordinary statement of current syntax these can only belong to a discourse uninterruptedly following an initial Perfect or its equivalent, expressed or understood, and here the Perfect is expressed. Apart from the presence in this series of what seems to be an important break at VI., 1, the mind recoils from the supposition that the writer deliberately attached sixty-five Imperfects to one Perfect with the consciousness that the presence of the Perfect at the beginning was a necessary condition to the expression of past time by an Imperfect with Waw thirty verses further on. If it be said that, having once fallen into Imperfects with Waw, the same tense was used till something happened to break the even flow of the narrative, and that the writer used each particular Imperfect with Waw because he knew that the tenses immediately preceding it were the same; then, surely, as a matter of syntax each later Imperfect with Waw is due to the preceding ones, and the fact of such a dependence should have been so stated. But the number of instances in which such Imperfect is found with no very close connection with any previous Perfect or similar Imperfect seems to render even this modified statement of the usual theory unnecessary.

On these grounds we maintain that the two rules given on p. 197 fairly de-

scribe and account for the facts of the language. They need some little explanation and may perhaps be put on a fairly scientific basis. Thus we may lay down the following premises :

1. The ordinary style of Hebrew narrative consists of a series of co-ordinate sentences connected by the conjunction Waw, as against the more complicated constructions and greater variety of conjunctions in other languages.

2. That the verb is usually put first.

3. That instead of using for narrative the ordinary Waw and the Perfect, the Waw pointed as the article is used with the Imperfect.

Thus the ordinary narrative tense will be this Imperfect with Waw. Doubtless the origin of the usage was that which modern theory suggests ; but we maintain that the origin had been forgotten. It now remains to account for cases in which this ordinary tense gives place to the Perfect.

As the connection of the Waw and Imperfect is an essential part of the construction, and the Imperfect is not so used without Waw. It will follow :

1. That the substitution of any other conjunction or of a relative for Waw will render it necessary to use the Perfect, hence the Perfect will be found in dependent, relative, interrogative sentences.

It is, of course, to be understood that this need only apply to the first verb in such a sentence ; a second verb may be connected with this by Waw, and then the Imperfect may follow as usual. As a matter of fact such sentences do not very often contain more than one verb, and when they do, there is some tendency to follow up one Perfect by another, e. g., Gen. vi., 1.

2. Anything which alters the position of the verb will separate it from the Waw and cause it to fall into the Perfect.

Thus *a*, as the negative **לֹא** always precedes the verb, the Perfect is found in negative sentences.

*b*. Wherever some other word than the verb is placed first for the sake of emphasis, the verb will fall into the Perfect.

3. The oratio recta in its statement, as to past time may use either a narrative or a rhetorical style. In using a narrative style nothing more is intended than to state the facts to the hearer ; when the style becomes rhetorical there is a conscious intention that the statement of facts should move the feelings or the will of the hearer. In the former case the Imperfect with Waw is naturally used, in the latter case the statements are rendered more emphatic by the use of the Perfect. It is chiefly in long speeches that the oratio-recta becomes narrative.

Moreover, the principles laid down fully account for the feeling that an Imperfect with Waw is connected with something preceding. Naturally the use of a form, the first member of which is a conjunction, will suggest a connection with something preceding. Again it is natural that a series of Imperfects with Waw should have an appearance of smoothness and regularity ; any unbroken series of



tenses has some such appearance; and in this case the fact that any departure from the usual order of the words renders it impossible to use this Imperfect implies that the presence of this Imperfect indicates an absence of emphasis. Thus also the Hebrew language gains an added emphasis of form from the fact that an unusual order of words must also be accompanied by a less usual tense. But the question as to the use of Perfect or Imperfect with Waw is not one of sequence or connection, but of emphasis; the unbroken series of these Imperfects implies continuity of style rather than of thought. For, while a change of thought may be indicated by a change of style, yet the different parts of a train of thought may be as closely connected as possible, and still their mutual relation and relative importance may give rise to a variety of construction. One might perhaps illustrate the theory that an Imperfect with Waw Cons. implies an initial Perfect by comparing a series of Imperfects to a straight line and a Perfect to a point, then in the nature of things every such series must begin with a Perfect; and the continuity of a narrative will be that of a straight line when Imperfects are used and as broken as a row of isolated points when we have Perfects. According to the view we have tried to maintain, the series of Imperfects may be compared to a gently undulating curve, and the Perfect to a loop; or where a Perfect interrupts a series of Imperfects there would be a loop among the curves. The continuity is the same in each case; there is no necessary sequence, but the change from wave to loop would arrest and detain the attention.

It surely follows that the methods of stating the use of the Imperfect with Waw Cons. are misleading; those of Bickell and Davidson, as being the whole of their statements on this head, would never lead the student to suppose that the facts were as they have been stated above. As to Müller it may be fairer to give a synopsis of his statements on the subject. According to him the Imperfect with Waw Cons. may follow—

1. A Perfect.
2. Any other tense used where a Perfect would have been admissible.
3. Another expression in a present sense instead of a Perfect.
4. Any word whatever, *which it in a manner elucidates*.
5. It may serve as apodosis to a preceding noun placed absolutely.
6. A simple Imperfect under certain conditions.

If it were not that Müller's anxiety to establish a connection in each case leads him to impose limitations on the use under each head, we might say that his statements might gain in clearness and conciseness if they were summed up in a statement in Gesenius, that the Future with Waw Cons. stands only in connection with something preceding. Even then Gesenius' statement is for most cases a truism, since, as we have pointed out, a form introduced by Waw naturally stands mostly in connection with something preceding; and in historical narrative most sentences stand in connection with something preceding. Doubtless,

however, Gesenius intends something more than a truism, as he guards this statement by saying that "If there be any connection with an earlier advent, the Fut. with Waw may even begin a narrative or a section of one." As, however, all narrative has a connection with earlier events, especially in sacred history, unless indeed it be the history of the Creation, this latter statement only removes the truism a stage further back. A single Perfect in the first verse of Genesis would justify Imperfects thence to the end of the Old Testament. In fact such a statement virtually amounts to saying that an Imperfect with Waw Cons. may occur anywhere, and so justifies the position that apart from the Waw there is no conscious dependence of this Imperfect on any previous tense.

In Müller, however, I cannot find any such admission that an Imperfect with Waw may begin a section. We might indeed apply the mathematical interpretation to "any word whatever," and understand it as including "nothing" or "no word at all;" but the limitation "which it in a manner elucidates" shuts us out from this refuge; a series of tenses can scarcely be intended to elucidate "nothing."

Again it is difficult to see how Müller's statements include the numerous instances in which an Imperfect with Waw Cons. resumes the narrative after a long speech in the oratio recta; though as this is virtually beginning a section, it might perhaps be left as another view of the difficulty stated above.

If, however, these gaps in Müller's statement were filled up, we see that they would amount to the elaboration of a truism, and to a virtual admission that the Imperfect with Waw Cons. may be used, whatever precedes. If Müller's statement were intended to show how the usage of this form, at a time when its origin in a dependence on the Perfect was forgotten, might be deduced from this origin, it would seem eminently useful and instructive; but an attempt to explain and describe the actual usage as if the authors of these books were conscious of an origin they seem to have entirely forgotten, is as mischievous and misleading as if we tried to make out that people were influenced in their use of a word by some long forgotten etymology.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It may be noticed that this statement is almost identical with that by which Driver introduces his chapter on the "Imperfect with Strong Waw" (ch. VI., p. 83):

"By far the most usual method in which a series of events is narrated in Hebrew consists in connecting each fresh verb with the clause which precedes it by means of the so-called *waw conversivum* (ו) and the Imperfect."

Now it has been shown that this mode of describing the usage of the "Imperfect with Strong Waw" involves an important modification of the statements in such grammars as Bickell, Davidson and Mueller. But the student would understand from the general drift of the book that Driver was thoroughly at one with the current views on syntax and would not be likely to notice a modification unless it were dwelt upon as such. A student, for instance, who read Driver after Davidson would be apt to suppose that the words "clause which precedes" were to be understood in the light of Davidson's statement as to the usage of the Imperfect with Waw Cons.; and that some connected and preceding clause would contain the necessary simple Perfect.

Students would be more likely to profit by Driver's careful accuracy of statement, if the same characteristic prevailed in elementary works.



## WRITING AMONG THE HEBREWS.

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### I. BIBLICAL STATEMENTS.

There is no direct testimony that the Hebrews were acquainted with the art of writing before the time of Moses. It was not necessary that letters should have been engraved upon the signet ring of Judah (Gen xxxviii., 18); the record in Gen. xxiii. could even be urged as an *argumentum e silentio* for the time of Abraham; and the office of the שטרִים, of whom Exod. v., 6 seqq., speaks, does not mean precisely "scribe," but "director, overseer." Nevertheless, it is evident from the way in which mention is made of the writing of Moses,<sup>1</sup> and at the same time of the writing of priests<sup>2</sup> and others,<sup>3</sup> and also of the engraving of names and other words in stone and metal,<sup>4</sup> that the art of writing was then somewhat diffused among the Hebrews, and was, therefore, no new discovery. In the Book of Joshua, we may compare viii., 32 (מִשְׁנֵה תוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה, written upon stones) and xviii., 6, 8, 9 (a description of Canaan drawn up with a view to disposing of it by casting lots). Even in the times of the Judges the knowledge of writing must have been widely extended; for (Judg. viii., 14) a boy of Succoth, accidentally captured, is able to write down the names of seventy-seven princes and elders of that city (cf. 1 Sam. x., 25). Songs, such as those in Num. xxi. and Judg. v., must have been recorded at an early age (cf. also Josh. x., 13, סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר). Consequently the assertion of Hartmann, Vatke, and von Bohlen, that the art of writing could only have become known to the Hebrews shortly before or even after the time of Solomon, is indefensible. From the time of the kings there come to us numerous notices of the employment of writing in public as well as in private life, on the part of adults,<sup>5</sup> and also of children (Isa. x., 19).

From Isa. viii., 1 (חֵרֶט אֲנוֹשׁ) it may be concluded that, in the time of Isaiah, beside the customary script there was a somewhat more cursive, perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Legal, Exod. xxiv., 4, 7; xxxiv., 27; Deut. xxxi., 9, 24; historical, Exod. xvii., 14; Num. xxxiii., 2; Song of Moses, Deut. xxxi., 22; compare also Num. xvii., 18 [E. V. 3].

<sup>2</sup> Num. v., 23.

<sup>3</sup> Only in Deut. vi., 9; xi., 20; bill of divorcement, xxiv., 1, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. xxviii., 9, 36.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Sam. xi., 4; 1 Kgs. xxi., 8, 11; 2 Kgs. v., 5 seqq.; x., 1; Isa. viii., 1; x., 1, 19; xxix., 11 seq.; xxx., 8; xxxvii., 14; xxxix., 1; Jer. xxix., 1; Hos. viii., 12; Hab. ii., 2; Ps. xlv., 2; 2 Chron. ii., 10; xxi., 12; bill of purchase, Jer. xxxii., 10; judicial procedure, Job xlii., 26; xxxi., 35; the State Secretary, סוֹפֵר, 2 Sam. viii., 17; xx., 25; 1 Kgs. iv., 3; 2 Kgs. xii., 11; xix., 2; xxii., 3; the king's annalist, מְזַכֵּר.

smaller, script, which could be read only by the more learned. According to many 'א' denotes the ancient Hebrew writing in contradistinction to that which came into Palestine with the Aramaic language,<sup>1</sup> the latter being then indeed very similar to the former, but nevertheless already so different as not to be generally readable.

Ezra iv., 7 (כְּתוּב אֲרָמִית) shows that the Hebrew script differed from the Aramaic at least in the time of Artaxerxes.

We must take it that paper (χάρτης 2 John, 12) was the material upon which persons ordinarily wrote. To be sure, this is not expressly affirmed in the Old Testament, but there is just as little indication in it that they used the prepared skins of beasts, though this is a common assumption. For the LXX. have rightly translated Jer. xxxvi. (Sept. XLIII.) χαρτίον and χάρτης;<sup>2</sup> and as for Num. v., 23, we should take into account that fresh writing in ink can be washed from papyrus also. Papyrus grows abundantly in Palestine even now; for example, beside the sea of Huleh, in the plain of Gennesaret, and beside the Jordan in the vicinity of Jacob's Bridge. Parchment, discovered much later, is mentioned only in the New Testament (2 Tim. iv., 13, τὰς μεμβράνας).

The books were in the form of rolls (מְגִלָּה Jer. xxxvi.; Ezek. ii., 9; iii., 1 seq.; Ps. xL., 8; Zech. v., 1, 2).

They wrote with a reed,<sup>3</sup> cut to a point with the scribe's knife,<sup>4</sup> and with ink.<sup>5</sup> The writing utensils were carried in a girdle (Ezek. as cited above). For engraving on metal or stone, eventually also for carving in wood, an iron style<sup>6</sup> was employed; because of a similar use the חֲרָט (Isa. viii., 1) had its name (חָרַט, to carve, engrave.)

Beside the literature hereafter cited, we may name: E. A. Steglich, *Skizzen ueber Schrift- und Buecherwesen der Hebräer zur Zeit des alten Bundes*, Leipzig, 1876, 4to, pp. 16.

## II. HISTORY OF THE HEBREW SCRIPT.

A. The history of writing among the Hebrews is closely connected with that of writing in general, especially Semitic.

The ancient Semitic alphabet was not, indeed, originated by the Hebrews. The names of the letters are not pure Hebrew, neither is there any tradition or legend respecting it. The honor belongs to "a people speaking Canaanite and in intimate intercourse with the Egyptians;"<sup>7</sup> the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xxxvi., 11.

<sup>2</sup> "Despite his violent anger the king would not have thrown whole pieces of leather upon the open oriental fire-pan."—Schlottmann.

<sup>3</sup> עֵט, Ps. xlv., 2; Jer. viii., 8; κάλαμος, 3 John 13.

<sup>4</sup> תַּעַר הַסֵּפֶר, Jer. xxxvi., 23.

<sup>5</sup> דִּיּוֹ, Jer. xxxvi., 18; μέλαν, 2 Cor. iii., 3; 2 John, 12; 3 John, 13; inkstand, קֶסֶת הַסֵּפֶר, Ezek. ix., 2, 3, 11.

<sup>6</sup> בְּרִיָּל, Jer. xvii., 1; Job xix., 24.

<sup>7</sup> Schlottmann, p. 1430b.



have been suggested. The inventor was certainly acquainted with the hieroglyphs; but, despite their exterior similarity, it is very doubtful whether the Egyptian and the Semitic signs are identical, and the latter, therefore, derived [from the former].

In the Semitic script the principle of acrophony rules; that is, each letter is represented by the picture of an object whose name begins with the letter under consideration: for example, the letter *d* by Δ, the outline of a tent-door, dalth, deleth, dāleth. It is to be further noted, that all the letters are in the first place only consonants. Probably there were not twenty-two letters at the beginning: it is quite possible that א, ב, ד, ז were developed later from א, א, י, ש, through differentiation, and each of these last four represented two related sounds, as did י also later, similar to the Arabic ع and غ. At least the meaning of the names of א, ב, ז, is entirely unknown; and א and ז break into related groups of letters.<sup>1</sup> The order of the letters is shown to be very old by the alphabetical Psalms (ix. seq., xxv., xxxiv., xxxvii., cxl., cxli., cxlv.), by Prov. xxxi., 10-31, and by Lam. i.-iv., and still more certainly by the ancient Greek alphabet. It has no fundamental plan of arrangement; yet an intentional classification is evident in several places.

In the north-Semitic group of languages, if we except the Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform literature, a Western and an Eastern, or a Canaanitic and an Aramaic, development are to be distinguished. The same is true as to the characters used in writing.<sup>2</sup>

B. The oldest known witness, at present, to the development of the north-Semitic script is the thirty-four line inscription of Mesha', king of Moab, found in the year 1868, by the German minister, F. H. Klein, among the ruins of Dibon (Dhibân). It is of the ninth century before Christ (cf. 2 Kgs. iii., 4 seq.). Concerning this inscription of which fragments, unfortunately incomplete, are now in the Louvre in Paris, see in particular: Th. Nöldeke, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab erklärt*, Kiel, 1870, page 38.; Const. Schlottman, *Die Siegestsäule Mesa's*, Halle, 1870, 51 pp.; *ZDMG.*, xxiv. (1870), page 253 seqq., 483 seqq., 645 seqq.; xxv. (1871), page 463 seqq.; L. Diestel, in the *Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theologie*, 1871, page 215 seqq.

Closely related are the characters of the Siloam inscription, discovered in June, 1880, and belonging probably to the time of Hezekiah. Cf. especially, A. Socin, *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, iii. (1880), page 54 seq.; E. Kautzsch, *ZDPV.* iv., pages 102-114, 260-271 (with a lithograph); v., pages 205-218; H. Huthe, *ZDPV.* iv., 250-259; *ZDMG.* xxxvi. (1882), pages 725-750 (with a sun-print plate).

<sup>1</sup> Schlottmann is inclined also to strike י and פ from the oldest alphabet.

<sup>2</sup> The attempt made by W. Deecke (*ZDMG.* xxxi. 107 seqq.), to derive the ancient Semitic alphabet from the later Assyrian cuneiform writing, has not found anywhere a lasting endorsement.

Twenty seals with ancient Hebrew inscriptions belong probably to the period from the eighth to the seventh century B. C. See particularly M. A. Levy, *Siegel und Gemmen mit aramäischen, phönizischen, althebr., himjar.... Inschriften*, 1. c., 1869, pp. 55, plates 3.

Here we should place the Phœnician inscriptions, concerning which we are now receiving continuous disclosures, in a style worthy imitation, through the Paris *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum ab Academia inscriptionum et litterarum humaniorum conditum atque digestum. Pars prima inscriptiones Phœnicias continens*, of which the first two numbers (Tom. i., fasc. 1, 2), have appeared (1881 and 1883). The epitaph of Eshmun'azar is to be especially noted in this connection. It is certainly of the first half of the fourth century B. C.: C. Schlottmann, *Die Inschrift Eschmunazars, Königs der Sidonier*, Halle, 1868, pp. 202, plates 3; C. J. Kämpf, *Phönizische Epigraphik. Die Grabschrift Eschmunazar's, Königs der Sidonier. Urtext und Uebersetzung*, Prag, 1874, pp. 83.

Essentially the same script is on all Hebrew coins, of which we have not a few, perhaps from the time of Simon Maccabæus (143-135),<sup>1</sup> safely from John Hyrcanus I. (135-105),<sup>2</sup> down to the time of Bar Cochba. Cf. especially Fred. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (second volume of *The International Numismata Orientalia*), London, 1881, pp. xi, 329, large 4to, 279 wood-cuts and 1 plate.

This script was the one exclusively used by the Jews up to the time of Ezra. Then, as will hereafter be shown, it was gradually exchanged for (displaced by) the Aramaic.

The Semitic writing is "a younger, calligraphic remodeling of the ancient Hebrew" (Stade, *Hebr. Grammatik*, page 26). Several specimens of writing may be found in Rosen's essay: "Alte Handschriften des samaritanischen Pentateuch," *ZDMG.*, XVIII. (1864) pages 582-589.

From the foregoing account, we have purposely omitted the portions of an epitomized compilation of Deuteronomy brought to Europe in 1883 by the Jerusalem book-dealer W. M. Schapira. These are written, it is true, with letters very similar to those of the Moabite stone; but, as the writer of this article, who first saw the entire thing, said to the owner, it is an altogether modern production. The appearance of age has been skillfully given it by using the blank upper and lower edges of leather synagogue rolls as material for writing upon. Cf. my letter of August 31, addressed to the publisher of the *Times* (in the number for Sept. 4, 1883); my notice of Guthe's publication, named below, in *Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, No. 40; Franz Delitzsch's article, "Schapira's Pseudo-Deuteronomium," in the *Allgem. Ev.-Luther- Kirchenzeitung*, Nos. 36-39; H. Guthe, *Fragmente einer Lederhandschrift, enthaltend Mose's letzte Rede an die Kinder Israel, mitgetheilt und geprüeft*, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 94. In view of the fact that the pieces of skin (some

<sup>1</sup> Madden, p. 61 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> de Saulcy, Ewald, Derenbourg.



years since declared a forgery, by C. Schlottmann, upon the ground of communications made in correspondence by Schapira) and the "Moabitica"<sup>1</sup> were brought to Europe by the same dealer, we may refer merely to the most important literature respecting the latter. Const. Schlottmann, *ZDMG.*, vols. 26-28; H. Weser, *ib.* vols. 26, 28; Ad. Koch, *Moabitisch oder Selimisch?* Stuttgart, 1876, pp. 98; E. Kautzsch and A. Socin, *Die Aechtheit der Moabitischen Alterthümer geprüft*, Strassburg, 1876. pp. 191.

C. The oldest authenticated documents in respect of the Eastern or Aramaic development of the north-Semitic writing, are the old Aramaic seal inscriptions, which differ but a little from the ancient Hebrew. The main point in these gradual changes can be stated thus: Opening of the closed heads (ב, ד, ר, later also י), rounding of the angular forms.

The development proceeds very well, if we shall arrange the material at hand for critical examination in the following manner: The Assyrian clay tablets with conventions in the cuneiform character and Aramaic letters. The papyrus written by Aramæans in Egypt during the Persian domination, upon which final letters for ב, ל, נ are already distinguished. The Cilician coins of the fourth century [B. C.]. The stone of Carpentras (in the department of Vaucluse). The Nabatæan and the Palmyrene inscriptions. The inscription of 'Arâq el-Emîr (half-way between Rabbath Ammon and Jericho), probably soon after 176 B. C. The inscription of the priestly family, the בְּנֵי הַיִּזְרִי, on "the Tomb of St. James" (Valley of Kidron), presumably of the first century B. C. The word of Christ (Matt. v., 18), ἵδωτα ἐν ἡ μίᾳ κεφαλᾷ οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, has reference, doubtless, not to the ancient Hebrew characters, but to those of the Eastern development. The Kefr Bir'im inscriptions (seven and a half miles NNW. from Safed) which, according to Renan,<sup>2</sup> belong to the end of the second or the beginning of the third century after Christ, while Levy and Schlottmann maintain that they are older.

Out of this style of writing with its many ligatures, by the isolation of the letters and a tendency to calligraphy, the square character (כְּתָב מְרֻבָּע) has arisen.

D. The adoption of the Aramaic script on the part of the Jews, did not occur all at once, but by degrees. The oldest witness which attests the entrance of this script into Palestine, is the 'Arâq el-Emîr inscription, consisting, unfortunately, of only five letters, טוּבִיה: it has the ancient Hebrew Yodh. The later inscription on the so-called "Tomb of St. James," already mentioned, shows only the Aramaic type of writing. Though all Hebrew coins, even those of Bar Cochba, have legends in the ancient Hebrew script, yet we may hardly hold that this is the act of a cultured patriotism which had knowledge of the old national script that had become obsolete, but we must conclude that the ancient script was then

<sup>1</sup> [The Berlin "Moabitica;" to be distinguished, of course, from the Moabite stone. Tr.].

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Asiat.*, 1864, Vol. IV., p. 531 seqq.; 1865, Vol. VI., p. 561 seqq.

quite generally known; for what is illegible can hardly command the patriotism of the ordinary man, and beside this the writing upon the coins was essentially that of the Samaritans whom the Jews so hated. The knowledge, nay more, the use, of the ancient script follows from the Mishna *Yadayim* iv., 5. Here also are to be noted two statements of Origen by way of citation which can scarcely be assigned to a later period. According to Montfaucon, *Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt*, I., 86, he says that the Greeks use κίριος for the unpronounceable divine name, and then he continues: καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβέσι τῶν ἀντιγράφων Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς νῦν φασὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἑσδραν ἑτέροις χρήσασθαι μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν. And in respect to Ezek. ix., 4 (Montf. II., 282) he says that a baptized Jew told him: τὰ ἀρχαῖα στοιχεῖα ἐμπερὲς ἔχειν τὸ θαῦ τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ χαρακτήρι. There is no indication whatever that the ancient script has been used by the Jews since the second century of the Christian era.

How is this complete disappearance to be explained? Only upon the hypothesis that earlier than this the Aramaic script (the square character) had come to be considered sacred, the ancient Hebrew profane. Even in the above-cited Mishna, it stands as an incontrovertible dogma that the Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible were only to be deemed sacred in case they were written in the square script (אשורית) with ink upon leather (עור), but not if the (ancient) Hebrew writing (כתב עברי) were employed. Whence the sacredness of this script? The view that Ezra brought the square writing with him from Assyria out of the exile—a view attested so early as the second century after Christ (Rabbi Jose, Rabbi Nathan)—is significant in this connection.<sup>1</sup> Even if Ezra did not bring the Aramaic script with him (it came without him, along with the Aramaic language), it is nevertheless most probable that he caused the Aramaic writing to be used in the numerous copies of the law which were made at his procurement. Inasmuch as the letters of the law came more and more to be regarded as divine, and the difference between the two types of writing constantly increased, at a later period such a change in the script would not have been possible.

E. From various statements in the Talmud (e. g., *Sabbath*, 103, 104), we perceive first, that the square writing employed in its time had long since attained a defined form, and second, that the character found in manuscripts and imprints corresponds with it.<sup>2</sup> This stability is explained by the peculiar respect entertained for the law, which was written with these letters.<sup>3</sup> There is a diversity in the characters employed in the manuscripts of the Bible, but one that in no way makes against the correspondence just spoken of. By this diversity we are enabled to determine, often with certainty, as to the nationality of respective

<sup>1</sup> Jerusalem Talmud, *Megilla* i., 11 (Shitomir's edition, i., 9), fol. 71, col. b, l. 56 seq.; Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 21, col. b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Berliner, *Beitraege zur hebr. Grammatik im Talmud und Midrasch*, Berlin, 1879, pp. 15-26.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my article "Massora," *PRE.* ix., 389, and the bibliography given therein, Remark 2.



manuscripts or of their transcribers; e. g., it is very easy to distinguish between Spanish and German codices of the Bible. To a far less extent are we able, from the characters used, to speak with assurance respecting the age of a manuscript; many statements in catalogues purporting to be absolute are purely suggestive, and may be in great measure incapable of proof.

As old witnesses regarding the state of the square script in the earlier centuries [of the Christian era], we may here name: the ten tomb inscriptions in Venosa, Lavello and Brindisi—of the first half of the ninth century—published by G. J. Ascoli;<sup>1</sup> and the codex of the prophets with the Babylonian punctuation—of the year 916.<sup>2</sup>

On the contrary we are not to take into account: first, the epitaph of the Mashta found in Aden; for, to the date “29 Seleuc.,” we have to restore not only the order of thousands, but of hundreds also (1029 Seleuc. = 717 A. D.);<sup>3</sup> second, very many “finds” of the Karaite, Abr. Firkowitsch, who died at Tschufutkale in the Crimea, 1874, viz., all epigraphs which are said to have been written earlier than the year 916, and almost, if not quite, all epitaphs which now bear date as of the fifth or even the fourth millenary, Jewish chronology (therefore before 1240 or even 240 after Christ). The epitaphs are collected in the ספר אנכי זכרון, published by A. Firkowitsch (Wilna, 1872). D. Chwolson has especially maintained the genuineness of the Firkowitsch finds.<sup>4</sup> Cf. on the contrary, what the writer has observed concerning the numerous forgeries of Firkowitsch (also touching upon the history of the punctuation and the Massora) in *A. Firkowitsch und seine Entdeckungen. Ein Grabstein den hebr. Grabschriften der Krim*, Leipzig, 1876, pp. 44; *Theol. Litztg.*, 1878, No. 25, col. 619 seq.; *Die Dikduke ha-teamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher*, Leipzig, 1879, Introduction; *ZDMG.* xxxiv. (1880), pages 163–168; *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1883, No. 25, cols. 878–880.

Concerning the peculiar embellishments of numerous letters, the so-called תגין or כתרים, cf. Talmud, *Menachoth*, 29, cols. a, b; *Sabbath*, 89, col. a; 105, col. b; ספר תגין, *Sepher Taghin, Liber coronularum* . . . edidit . . . J. J. L. Barges, Paris, 1886, pp. xxxi, 42, 55, 16mo.; J. Derenbourg, *Journal Asiatique*, 1867, Vol. IX., pages 242–251.

The literature relating to the punctuation I have given in the article “*Massora*,” [PRE.<sup>2</sup>] Vol. IX., page 390, Rem. 2, and page 393, Rem. 3.

<sup>1</sup> *Iscrizioni inedite o mal note, greche, latine, ebraiche, di antichi sepolcri giudaici del Napoli. tano, edite e illustrate*, Turin and Rome, 1880, pp. 120, 8 sun-print plates.

<sup>2</sup> *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* . . . edidit Hermannus Strack, St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1876.

<sup>3</sup> Against Levy, Stade, Schlottman, and others.

<sup>4</sup> *Achtzehn hebraeische Grabschriften aus der Krim*, St. Petersburg, 1865, pp. 135, large 4to, 9 plates; and *Corpus inscriptionum Hebraicarum* (1882) [Title given in Bibliography]. Although the author in the second work concedes that Firkowitsch has forged much, still his point of view is wholly uncritical; and the invectives and charges vociferated against the undersigned do not conceal this from the learned.

Facsimiles of Hebrew manuscripts: The Paleographical Society. *Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts*. Oriental series. Edited by W. Wright, London; Part I., fol. 13, Hebrew Lexicon of Menachem ben Saruq, of the year 1091; fol. 14, ib. of the year 1189; fol. 15, Rashi, Comment. on the Talmud, 1190; Part II., fol. 30, Moses ben-Shem-Tob of Leon, Sepher ha-Mishkal, 1363-4, Algiers; Part III., fol. 40, Manuscript of the Bible; fol. 41, ib., Jan., 1347; Part IV., fol. 54, ib.; fol. 55, Al-Charisi, Tachkemoni, 1282; fol. 56, Jerusalem Talmud, 1288-9; Part V., fol. 68, Isaac ben-Joseph, Sepher Mitzvoth Katon (ספר מצוות קטן), 1401.<sup>1</sup> M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus codicum Hebræorum bibliothecæ Lugduno-Batavæ*, Leyden, 1858, 11 plates; *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Vol. II., *Verzeichniss der hebr. Handschriften*, Berlin, 1878, 3 plates with 27 specimens of writing; *Die hebr. Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen*, Munich, 1875, Facsimile of the Talmud Manuscript No. 85. M. S. Zuckermandel gave a facsimile of each of the Erfurt and Vienna manuscripts of the Tosefta (Tosefta, Pasewalk, 1880. Supplement, Treves, 1882). Chwolson, *Corpus etc.* B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Berlin, 1881, seqq.

Copies of Hebrew epitaphs: Firkowitzsch in אבני זכרון (imperfect); Chwolson in both his works already named; Ascoli, as cited above; The Paleographical Society, etc., Part II., fol. 29, Epitaph of the Mashta, ostensibly of the year 717-8, in reality later (see above). The practiced hand of Prof. Jul. Euting has given a detailed graphical exposition of the history of the Hebrew alphabet three times, in *Outlines of Hebrew Grammar*, by G. Bickell (translated by S. I. Curtiss), Leipzig, 1877; *The Hebrew Alphabet*, *The Paleogr. Soc.*, Part VII., London, 1882; Chwolson, *Corpus etc.*

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<sup>1</sup> The editors are disposed to hold that the codices used for folios 40 and 54 were written in the twelfth century. It is doubtful whether this is correct.



pp. 358, 398 (1st, Semitic Alphabets; 2d, Aryan Alphabets), particularly Vol. I., pages 268–283; A. Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Gesch. des griech. Alphabets*, 3d edition, Berlin, 1877, pp. 168 with illustrations.

Emm. de Rougé, *Memoire sur l'origine egyptienne de l'alphabet phenicien* [written 1859]. . . . publié . . . par Jacques de Rougé, Paris, 1874, pp. 110; E. van Drival, *De l'origine de l'écriture*, 3d edition, Paris, 1879, pp. 170; M. de Vogüé, *Melanges d'archeologie orientale*, Paris, 1868; *Syrie centrale. Inscriptions semitiques publiees avec traduction et commentaire*, Paris, 1868 seq.; Ernest Renan, *Mission de Phenicie*, Paris, 1874; F. Lenormant, *Essai sur la propagation de l'alphabet phenicien dans l'ancien monde*, 2 vols., Paris, 1872, 1873; 2d Edition 1875.

Wilh. Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, Leipzig, 1815, page 137 seqq. [nearly antiquated]; J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, 4th edition, §§ 63–78, 342–377, Göttingen, 1823, Vols. I. and II.; H. Hupfeld, “Kritische Beleuchtung einiger dunkeln und missverstandenen Stellen der alttestam. Textgeschichte,” *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, Nos. 2–4, and 1837, No. 3; *Ausführliche hebräische Grammatik* [not completed], Kassel, 1841, § 7 seqq.; Ad. Merx, article “Schreiber, Schreibkunst,” in Schenkel’s *Bibel-Lexikon*, V., 240–247; H. L. Strack, “Die bibl. und die massoretischen Handschriften zu Tschufutkale in der Krim,” *Zeitschr. f. luth. Theologie und Kirche*, 1875, pages 585–624; B. Stade, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Grammatik*, Part I. [all], Leipzig, 1879, pages 22–24 [this also treats of other matters of literary interest]; C. Schlottmann, article “Schrift und Schriftzeichen,” in Riehm’s *Handwörterbuch des bibl. Alterthums*, Part XV. (1881), pages 1416–1431 (of great value); D. Chwolson, *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, containing epitaphs from the Crimea and other epitaphs, in the early Hebrew square characters, as also specimens of the script from the ninth to the fifteenth century, St. Petersburg, 1882, 528 cols., folio, 4 photo-lithographs, 2 photo-type plates, and one in script (fails to accomplish its peculiar purpose, the defence of the Firkowitsch “finds;” but is valuable by reason of its specimens of writing and as a collection of much literary material that had else been scattered).

Leopold Löwe, *Graphische Requisiten und Erzeugnisse bei den Juden*, 2 parts, Leipzig, 1870, 1871 (alternate title: *Beiträge zur juedischen Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I.), pp. 243, 190. Contents: Material upon which they wrote; Materials and utensils for writing; Scribe; Records.—Noteworthy because of its careful use of the Jewish literature. For the names of the ancient Hebrew script compare moreover, the essay, כתב ליבנאה and כתב דעץ, by Georg Hoffmann, *Ztschr. fuer die alttest. Wissensch.*, 1881, pages p. 334–338.

## ŠUZUB THE BABYLONIAN AND ŠUZUB THE CHALDÆAN, KINGS OF BABYLON.

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With pleasure I avail myself of the opportunity which has been offered to me to furnish a small contribution to the album which is to be presented to Dr. Leemans. I should be very loth not to take any part in the homage to the esteemed scholar, the friend of my father, who constantly honored me also with his hearty friendship.

I have not, indeed, any important discoveries to communicate, but a short historical-critical contribution to the history of the reign of Sennacherib may suffice.

In the inscriptions of this king, especially in the Taylor-Cylinder (Hexagon) Šuzub occurs several times as the name of an obstinate enemy. But it seems to be difficult to reconcile the various accounts concerning him.

First, in the course of his expedition against Marduk-bal-iddin, of Bît-Yakîn (fourth campaign) the king gains a victory over Šuzub, the Chaldæan, who dwelt in the marshy districts near the sea. Šuzub flees and disappears entirely (ul innamir ašaršu). A few years later (in the sixth campaign) when returning from his adventurous voyage to Nagitu, Sennacherib gains a victory over Šuzub, the Babylonian, who had taken advantage of the disorder and anarchy of the country (ina ešiti mati) to usurp the dominion of Šumer and Akkad, and with him his ally the king of Elam. Šuzub he takes prisoner, brings him in fetters to Nineveh and there shuts him up in the great gate (cf. the Tabl. in Smith's *Sennach.*, p. 105). The account in III. R. 4, that Šuzub fled and fell from his horse probably has reference to this capture. But again a few years later Šuzub still sits on the throne of Babylon, makes an alliance with Ummanmênanu of Elam, and Sennacherib directs against him his eighth campaign, which, according to the Assyrians, results in the defeat and the flight of the allied kings. The Taylor-Cylinder written in 691 B. C. (limu Bel-êmurani, governor of Kargamiš) is still ignorant of his imprisonment. Only the Bavian inscription, composed at a later time, speaks of a second expedition to Babylon (ina šani harraniya) in which the city is destroyed, and Šuzub is taken captive.

On the supposition that all these accounts refer to the same Šuzub, it was supposed that he had either escaped from his prison, or had received mercy at the

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\* See the note on "The Memorial Volume of Dr. Leemans," p. 243.



hands of Sennacherib. The first is improbability itself, the other is not in accordance with the disposition of the most unmerciful of the Assyrian kings, and if it had occurred it certainly would have been mentioned by him in order to show the ingratitude of Šuzub.

But even a careful comparison of these passages shows plainly that we have to do here, not with one Šuzub, but with two persons bearing the same name. The one is called (Tayl. III., 45 and v., 8) "the Chaldæan" (am elu) Kal-dâ-a-a (var-da-a-a) or (Nebi-Yun. 28) mâr m. Ga-hul, the other (Tayl. IV., 35) "a born Babylonian," tur-ka-dingir-ra-ki (or mâr Bâbîli) which by no means is the same thing. The Chaldæan was originally ruler of a small State in Lower-Chaldæa, who in 699 had rebelled against the governor of Lachir, to whom he was subordinate, and then, after having been defeated by the Assyrian army, had fled to Elam. This is related twice, the second time a little more fully, in the Taylor-Cylinder (III., 45 seq., and v., 8-14). The repetition serves as an introduction to the account of his ascending the throne, and his war against Assyria, in alliance with Elam. The writer of the document from which III., 45 seq. is drawn, did not know whither he had gone; afterwards it appeared that he had taken refuge in Elam, but had fled thence to Babylon, where they crowned him as king. The other was a Babylonian by birth, who reigned at an earlier period. He is mentioned (besides Tayl. IV., 35) Tayl. v., 5, where it is related that the Babylonians, —evil devils,—had shut the gates of their city against the Assyrians after Šuzub had been carried off. Arki Šu-zu-bi is-si-ḥu can not mean: "nach dem Š. sich empört hatte" (Hörning), nor "after Š. was driven away." Smith, but only "after Š. had been carried off." Nasaḥu always, also Deluge II., 45 (where Haupt translates very freely: Dibbara enterfesselt die Wirbelwinde) has the meaning of "conveying, leading," either "conveying to," or "away from." This Š., therefore, is the Babylonian who was imprisoned in the gate at Nineveh. After this the account proceeds to the other Šuzub, the Chaldæan, describes his various vicissitudes, and then comes to its real subject, the eighth campaign of Sennacherib.

This distinction, grounded on an accurate interpretation of the historical texts of Sennacherib, is now, according to my judgment, made certain by the Babylonian Canon recently discovered, and by the fragment of the corresponding Chronicles, found at the same time. See Pinches in the Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology, May 6, 1884.

There, after Sennacherib's brother there follow first the king Nêrgal-uše zib, who reigned one year and six months (693-2), and whose name has been corrupted to Πηγεβήλος in the Ptol. Canon, and after him, during four years (692-689). Mušêzib-Marduk, who is identical with the Μεσησιμορδάκης of the Canon of Ptolemaeus. Both names are compounded with Šuzubar (from êzibu). Probably they were both originally named simply Šuzub, one of the elliptical

proper names, so common among the Semites. It seems that the name also occurs in the inscription of Tema, recently discovered by Euting. On ascending the throne they changed this name into Nêrgal-ušêzib and Mušêzib-Marduk, but both continued to be called, with a certain amount of contempt, simply Šuzub by the Assyrians, who did not acknowledge their legitimacy, just as conversely Tiglath-pileser II. and Shalmaneser IV. were called Pulu and Urlûlâi by the Babylonians, for the same reasons.

That what the Babylonian Chronicles relate of the two kings, taking into consideration the different point of view of the Assyrians and the Babylonians, agrees very well with what the Assyrian sources tell us of the two Šuzubs, and that the chronology also admits of no other interpretation is certain, but cannot here be further elaborated.



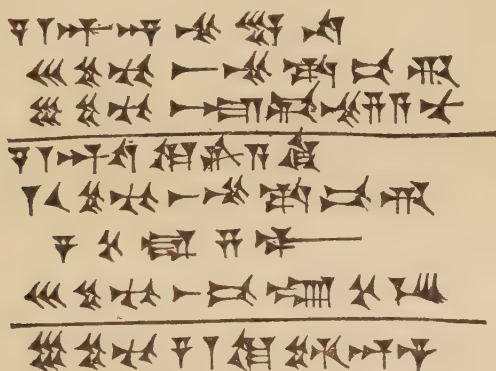
# AN ASSYRIAN RECORD OF RECEIPTS OF TAXES.

BY THEO. G. PINCHES,

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The short text given herewith is one of the tablets of the K. (Konymyik) collection in the British Museum, discovered by Sir A. H. Layard. It is inscribed on a small tablet, 2½ inches long by 1½ inch broad, six of the eight lines of writing it bears being upon the obverse, and continued, as is usual with tablets of this class, round the edge on the reverse. The style of the writing is Babylonian, and the reproduction here published gives a fair idea of the forms of the characters in the original.

K. 764.



## TRANSCRIPTION.

Ša 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 Aššur-šum-iddi-na :—  
 šelašā zērî ina mu-da-bi-ri ;  
 šuššu zērî ina âl ga-mu-za-a-nu.

Ša 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 Šamaš-di-ni-a-mur :—  
 sibā zērî ina mu-da-bi-ri  
 ša mâṭ Ra-ša-pi ;  
 šelašā zērî ina bi-rit šadāni

Šuššu zērî ša 𐎶 Ki-ṣir 𐎶𐎵 Šur.

## TRANSLATION.

From Aššur-šum-iddina :—  
 30 of seed from the pasture ;  
 60 of seed from the city Gamuzanu.

From Šamaš-dîni-âmur:—

70 of seed from the pasture

of the land of Reseph;

30 of seed from the midst of the mountains.

60 of seed from Kišir-Šur.

Aššur-šum-iddina "Aššur has given a name."

Mudabiri, oblique case, after ina, of mudabiru, defectively written for mudabbiru, participle-noun from the Pu'ul (dubburu) of dabāru, Hebrew רֹבֵץ *to lead* (flocks and herds) *to pasture*. Whether mudabiru is the same as mudbaru or not is doubtful—mudbaru has probably the meaning of "desert" only. (Compare מְרֹבֵץ (1) *a pasture*, (2) *a desert*.)

Al Gamuzānu, probably "the city of cypresses." Compare the Heb. גִּמְזוֹן (= גִּמְזוֹן). Most likely near Reseph.

Šamaš-dîni-âmur, probably "I have seen the Sun of judgment" (= "I have seen the Sungod, the judge"). Šamaš was especially regarded by the Babylonians and Assyrians as "the judge."

Mât Rašāpi, רֶצֶף, Reseph, the well-known district of Palmyra (see Fried. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 297).

Ina birit šadâni, "in the midst of the mountains," probably the district west of Aleppo. The character MAT-MEŠ may also be read mâtāti *countries*, but this meaning does not fit so well.

Kišir-Šur is probably for Kišir-Aššur, "Aššur's bond," the defective writing indicating either a vulgar pronunciation or a mistake of the scribe.

This interesting little text belongs, probably, to the time of Aššur-banî-apli, and is valuable in showing that the Assyrian dominion over the outlying provinces was at the time real. The three names quoted on the tablet can hardly be other than those of Assyrians; and far though they were from the centre, they had, like all the rest, also to submit to the visits of the tax-gatherer, who was, probably not, at times, over-welcome.

## THE STUDY OF HEBREW AND THE DIALECTS.

BY PROF. GEORGE H. SCHODDE, PH. D.,

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That the student of Hebrew who would go beyond the mechanical *kāṭāḥ* and search out the *rationale* and spirit of the language as well as learn the bare facts lying upon the surface, must also pay more or less attention to the other Semitic dialects, goes almost without saying. This claim of the sister tongues was accepted even when there was no deeper than a practical interest taken in Hebrew; but it has secured a scientific basis and recognition only in the philological methods of our own day and date. The historico-comparative method is now generally accepted as the correct principle of scientific research. The philosophy of this method consists in this, that it seeks to understand its science as a growth, as the resultant of historical factors and agencies, and does so largely with the assistance drawn from related and allied departments. Although applied most consistently and with the richest results to the natural sciences, it has been employed also with marked success to theological, historical, and other research. In philology this comparative method has, since the introduction of Sanskrit, and chiefly through its instrumentality, revolutionized the study of the languages and culture of the Indo-European nations, and has been the principle means of establishing modern comparative philological science. In the Semitic studies the dialects were appealed to even at an earlier date than was the case with the Indo-European; but this was done rather on the principle of *stat pro ratione voluntas*.<sup>1</sup> It is only within comparatively recent times that order and system was brought into this work, and even to the present day questions of method in this respect have not been settled, so that in regard to both the grammar and the lexicon of the Hebrew language Semitic scholars are not a unit as to the influence and voice which should be accorded to this or that dialect. In fact, the publication of Friedrich Delitzsch's "The Hebrew Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research" (1883), and his "Prolegomena" to a new Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon (1886), has, as far as the lexicography of Hebrew is concerned, started anew questions of the deepest fundamental importance.

The study of the dialects by the thorough student of Hebrew is accordingly already demanded by the best scientific method of the day, and this demand is

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<sup>1</sup> On the comparative method in general cf. Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, 1867, p. 240 seq.; Benfey, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, 1869, p. 313 seq. *et passim*. The etymological adventures made by some of the Hebrew scholars of two and three centuries ago are as crude as those found in Cicero and other old writers, cf. Benfey, l. c. p. 149 seq.; p. 229 seq.



fully sustained and emphasized by an examination of the relation and connection sustained by the various dialects to the Hebrew. In this connection it is of prime importance to remember just what position this study should occupy in the Hebrew student's work. It is a fact beyond dispute, but yet one not always remembered or acted upon, that the first thing necessary for the student of Hebrew, or of any other language, is to acquire the facts of that language as they are given in its literature. Nothing is more fatal to a solid and lucid study of a language than to approach it with a preconceived notion as to its origin, character, or relation with other dialects and languages. The right method of learning a language intelligently and correctly is the synthetic and constructive, and the materials that should be employed in this process are not this or that philological hypothesis, or this or that related tongue. Thus the principle and first source from which to draw our knowledge of the Hebrew is the Hebrew itself. In both the grammar and the lexicon of Hebrew this principle has not been allowed full sway. It is one of the weaknesses of Ewald's grammatical system that he approaches the phenomena of the Hebrew language with certain fixed ideas of the character and growth of language in general and of the Hebrew in particular; while it is equally a fault in the antithesis set up against Ewald's ideas by Olshausen, that he first constructs, chiefly upon the basis of the Arabic, a scheme of a proto-Semitic grammar, and explains the Hebrew forms as developments from this, but it has the redeeming feature that, to a great extent at least, this reconstruction of primitive Semitic forms is the result of previous deductions on the basis of correct comparative work. On the other hand, it is the charm of the ever popular grammar of Gesenius that for the most part he takes the facts pure and simple as he finds them in the Sacred Records and seeks to explain them rationally with whatever help he can find in the Hebrew itself, or in the cognate tongues. It is the merit of the inductive method, which is now being adopted by nearly all the Hebrew teachers of the land, that it carries out with a rigor and a vigor hitherto unknown, the idea of making Hebrew its own interpreter, of collecting and systematically arranging the facts of the language, and then from these facts deducing the principles that underlie them. While in no wise despising the help drawn from the cognates or from philological science in general, it nevertheless seeks in all cases to draw first from the Hebrew itself the data for an intelligent conception of Hebrew grammar. While as a system and in its conception of the language it may bear a close resemblance to the ideas of Olshausen and Bickell, yet in the manner of reaching these conclusions it resembles mostly the ways of Gesenius.

In Hebrew lexicography, too, the self-interpreting principle has not always been faithfully observed, and here, probably more than in the grammar, have the dialects been allowed a primary where they should have had only a secondary voice. The temptations here were all the more dangerous to resist, both on account of the meagre material afforded for a full and methodical lexicon by the rem-

nants of the literature of the Hebrews preserved to us in the Old Testament, as also because the cognate tongues offer in this regard more complete and in many respects more satisfactory material than they do to the Hebrew grammarian. For a number of reasons the editors of the last two editions of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, Professors Mühlau and Volck of Dorpat, Russia, have been singled out as the representatives of this false principle in Hebrew lexicography, although they have probably not been the chief of sinners in this regard.<sup>1</sup> These two editions more than any of their predecessors are under the spell of the Arabic school; and the principle of a biliteral basis of large classes of Hebrew roots with one general meaning out of which the various special meanings have been developed has been carried out to such an extent that impossibilities were attempted. The attack of the younger Delitzsch on this feature of the lexicon is in its main outlines certainly justifiable, although many of the etymologies which he proposes for Hebrew words on the basis of the Assyrian are equally unsatisfactory, at least in their present shape. But the principle he pronounces on p. 21 of his *Prolegomena* is certainly correct. There he says: "Hebrew lexicography must in the future also direct its chief attention, without swerving (*abschweifen*) to the other Semitic dialects, toward getting the meaning of the Hebrew and the Biblical-Aramaic words first of all from the Old Testament *usus loquendi*. Only when this has been done and found fruitless, has the time come for consulting the related languages." Delitzsch was not the first to enunciate this principle, but he was the first to give it such general application. His forthcoming Hebrew lexicon must yet show whether he has not, pendulum-like, swung to the other extreme and given to Assyrian privileges which he justly denies to Arabic.

The Hebrew has many *cruces* which even the Assyrian, now seemingly regarded by some as a panacea for all the ills that Hebrew grammar and lexicography are subject to, may not solve. Kautzsch's programme on the word צֶרֶק and Baudissin's on קֶרֶשׁ are fair examples of the manner of determining the meaning of Old Testament words on the basis of a full and fair comparison of the words as found used by the Old Testament writers, without assigning to the etymology—true or imaginary—of the word the decisive voice in determining the signification. Indeed philology in general demonstrates, beyond any fair doubt, that the etymology of a word in itself, and even if this be based upon the most learned research in the related tongues, cannot settle the actual meaning of a word. This can be done only by the *usus loquendi* of a people, however important testimony as to this use may be offered by the dialects, especially in regard to ἀπαξ λεγόμενα and other rare words. Following only the etymology of a word as a

<sup>1</sup> Far more arbitrary, only in a somewhat different direction, have been Fuerst and his followers. Delitzsch, Sr., also in his *Jesurun*, 1838, took a very radical stand-point. His work was written as a Prolegomena to the concordance of Fuerst and "contra Ewaldum et Gesenium," (see title page).

guide, even if that etymology is the correct one, may lead the investigator to an altogether false idea. For an independent student of Hebrew a concordance is as necessary as a dictionary.

But among the secondary helps of the Hebrew student the dialects undoubtedly hold the first position, both in grammatical and in lexicographical research. No thorough student of a language is, of course, satisfied with the mere mechanical acquisition of the facts of the language as such; he aims to understand the genius, the character, the growth of the language, in other words, to understand it philosophically and intelligently as the expression of thought. It is one thing to be able to conjugate a verb and another thing to be able to determine what elements enter into the composition of each form of the verb and each conjugation, and how these elements combine to express the shape and shades of thought actually conveyed by them. It is only when a language can be intelligently analyzed, both as to its forms and as to the peculiarities of its syntax, that it can be said to be understood by the student.<sup>1</sup> In order to be able to do this in Hebrew, a greater or less knowledge of the related tongues is indispensable; and this for the simple reason that these tongues are so closely related that one will naturally throw a great deal of light upon the growth and character of the other; they all will combine to form a clear idea as to the peculiarities of the Semitic class of languages over against the Indo-European and the Turanian, and this knowledge of the whole class will throw a reflected light upon the nature of the individual members of this class and help to solve the enigmas suggested by an examination of its etymology and syntax. These tongues are all closely related and connected with one another and show the same general character and spirit; but the one or the other has developed more extensively and more consistently some one special feature of the whole class, while in a second dialect this feature may show itself only enough to perplex the student, who can relieve himself of his perplexity only by following out this feature in its more developed form in the related dialects. Thus the various Semitic dialects are supplementary and complementary to each other. Examples of where the Hebrew receives a flood of light from the related tongues will occur at once to those who have an acquaintance with these tongues. Gesenius, in his *Lehrgebäude* (1817) has, probably with a greater fullness than any other grammarian, compared the Hebrew forms with those of the other dialects, and while his work may at places require some changes, yet it as a whole stands without a rival and is simply indispensable to the accurate student of Hebrew. By other authors work of a similar kind has been done, though not as extensively. As far as the Semitic verb is concerned Wright's *Arabic Grammar* in two volumes (1875) offers much and good material for comparative purposes. Naturally the least progress has been made in comparative work in the

<sup>1</sup> On the difference between the practical and the philosophical study of a language, cf. Benfey, l. c. p. 1 seq.



syntax, as there are but few who venture to undertake the laborious task of writing a Hebrew syntax—laborious chiefly because but little material has as yet been collected for the work—although we have been promised three from competent hands, namely, from Stade and König, in Germany, and Harper, in America. But what can be done by the comparative method in syntax also, when elaborately carried out, can be seen from the excellent little volume of Driver on the Hebrew Tenses. Of the work done, and to be done, by this method in Hebrew lexicography, we have already spoken, and mention here only the fact that a wealth of material for this purpose is found in another work of Gesenius, namely in his *Thesaurus*, completed by Rödiger. The dialects, methodically and scientifically applied to the elucidation of Hebrew, are yet a mine full of rich treasures.

## HEBREW SYNTAX.

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### I.

A vernacular knowledge of any language has the immense advantage over a book knowledge of it, in the sure and intimate acquaintance with the *facts* and forms of speech; but it is certain that in a scientific and philosophical acquaintance with the *principles* of dead languages, modern scholars are greatly in advance of the ancients who spoke those tongues. The blunders and inaccuracies of Roman authors in treating the etymology and structure of Latin are often amusing; and a Greek grammar of the days of Homer or Demosthenes, if such there were, would be a literary curiosity in more senses than one. In like manner Hebraists of the present day have investigated the peculiarities of "the sacred tongue" with a thoroughness and a comprehensiveness unknown to any other age. Not even the Massorites, who possessed next to a living knowledge of Hebrew, and who have fixed its vocalization for all time, exhibit anything comparable to the minute analysis and searching comparison of forms and constructions that characterize the latest inquiries into Hebrew grammar. The department of syntax especially has hitherto been defectively treated, and students therefore have occasion to welcome the introduction into schools of Ewald's *Hebrew Syntax*, which the Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh made accessible to English readers by translating in 1879 that part of the learned German's *Ausfuerliches Lehrbuch*. We will not have space, in the two short papers which we propose to devote to the subject, to examine in detail the many important suggestions and elucidations of this comprehensive and ingenious book; we will therefore confine our attention to the doctrines and relations of the so-called *tenses*, especially the "Future" (or, as Ewald prefers to call it, the "Imperfect"); which is confessedly the most difficult and least satisfactory point in modern treatises on Hebrew grammar.

The author sets out with an admirable statement of the ground difference in these two verb-forms:

"The simplest distinction of time in an action is, that the speaker first of all merely separates between the two grand and opposite aspects under which every conceivable action may be regarded. Man has first acted, passed through an experience, and sees before him something that is finished, or has taken place; but this very fact reminds him of that which does not yet exist, that which is behind and is expected. The former, or positive side, is that of experience, objective contem-

plation of action; the latter or negative side, is the higher subjective side of human thought and inference" (p. 1). Here the basal distinction of the *objective* (or past), and the *subjective* (or future) is clearly and truthfully drawn. But when the author proceeds, as he does in the very next sentence, and thereafter throughout his discussion, to draw the division thus: "Hence, with reference to action, the speaker views everything as already *finished*, and thus *before* him, or as *unfinished* and non-existent, but possibly *becoming* and coming," we conceive that he has materially departed from his former line of separation; for a positive action is not necessarily finished, nor is a negative one in the process of becoming at all. The exact and essential distinction had already been indicated, namely, the objective fact, and the subjective conception. This, and not the other, namely, of complete or incomplete execution, we find to be the true key to the intricacies of Hebrew usage with regard to the verb-forms. When the author proceeds to remark (p. 3) that "the names 'Preterite' and 'Future' are unsuitable, and have merely been derived from modern languages," we do not quite agree with him; for it is certain, even according to his own basis and the passages which he meanwhile has himself cited, that these are often, if not predominantly, the actual meanings of the two forms. But when he adds, "We designate them *Perfect* and *Imperfect*, understanding these names, however, not in the narrow sense attached to them in Latin grammars, but in a quite general way," we entirely disagree with him, and that for two reasons: 1. These names do not indicate the primary and real distinction; which is not the degree of completeness in an act, but the point of view from which it is regarded by the speaker (backward or forward, outward or inward), as Ewald himself set out by defining; 2. They, just as much as "Praeter" and "Future," are borrowed from other languages, with which the Hebrew has comparatively little analogy; and they are hampered with the additional disadvantage that, as Ewald himself confesses in adopting them, they must be taken, not as ordinarily understood in grammar, but in a peculiar and "quite general," i. e., very indefinite, way. We gain nothing, but lose much, by such a substitution. In proposing a new nomenclature, if we must entirely cut loose from conventional names, let us call them at once the Objective and the Subjective forms of the verb, and then we shall say just what we mean, and hit the nail on the head, and the right nail, too.

We have but little criticism to make on Ewald's further specifications of the use of the Praeter, but when he says (p. 6), that in such expressions as "they almost consumed me" (Ps. CXIX., 87), it means "they would have killed me;" "one of the people almost lay with thy wife," as meaning "might have lien," etc., we demur; for in our judgment the intention of the verb-form being not so much to express a *perfect* act, or, as the French say, *un fait accompli*, but rather an objective one, the meaning is that these acts really did come near being effected, not by reason of an actual attempt, but because there was a direct opportunity



and provocation therefor. The danger or proximity (בְּמַעַט) was real, and not imaginary or even hypothetical; as it would have been represented had the Future been employed. It was not merely true that the calamity might *possibly* have occurred; but it was in fact imminently nigh. Nothing but the "almost" intervened. So we often say, "I almost fell," not meaning "I partly fell," or "I might have fallen," but "I came near falling," or "I was on the point of falling," by reason of some positive occurrence, which, however, did not include any actual *degree* of falling at all, although it did involve the *fact* of falling outright. That event was obviated, not by any subjective cause, but by an objective intervention. This last distinction is in harmony with our view of the essential distinction between the two Hebrew verb-forms.

Turning now to the second and more idiomatic of these, the so-called Future, Ewald's Imperfect, we shall note his two divisions of this latter idea, and then the subdivisions under them. We will take them up in his order: first as notations of *time*, i. e., tenses (pp. 7-13); and secondly as indications of *manner*, i. e., moods (pp. 14-25).

The equivalent of a *present tense* he evolves out of the notion of incipency still continued. As an illustration he cites תֵּצֵאוּ (1 Sam. xvii., 8), which he translates "ye are marching out." But we would render the clause thus, "Why *should you come out*," etc. The purpose there is not to express the *fact* of marching, nor yet its mode, much less its time or degree; but simply to demand its reason or cause; and as this lay in the feelings of the enemy, the subjective verb-form is the appropriate one. Ewald goes on to compare מֵאֵין בָּאת (or its equivalent) with מֵאֵין תָּבֵא (or its equivalent) as interchangeable, both meaning "Whence comest thou?" But this obliterates a nice distinction intended by the two phrases; for in each instance the former denotes (besides the question as to the locality) the (objective) fact of a journey, while the latter indicates its (subjective) purpose. This is especially obvious from the first passage which he cites (Gen. xvi., 8), where they (in substance) occur together, and are clearly contrasted, "And he said, Hagar, Sarai's maid, from whence *hast thou come* (וּמֵאֵין בָּאת)? and whither *wilt thou go* (וְאֵנָּה תֵּלְכִי)?" This passage is singularly inappropriate as an instance of the *present tense*; for one part of the journey was past and the other future.

A similar fallacy inheres in the author's extension of this principle of equality to the exchange of the two tenses in the respective members of poetic parallelism. This is a very common occurrence. Ewald cites but two examples, remarking that the interchange is made "merely for the sake of variety;" and this is the common supposition. But we apprehend that such a view does injustice to the genius of the usage. A real difference is always meant, although perhaps not an essential one; and the prevalent practice of translators, who plane out the distinction by the convenient use of the English present tense, is a vicious one,

detrimental to the delicate shade of signification. Thus, in the first of the two examples, Prov. XI., 7, "In the death of a wicked man hope will perish (תִּאֲכָר), and the confidence of iniquities has [then] perished (אֲכָרָה)," the common idea is disappointment, but the former clause regards the sinner prospectively as counting upon the future, while the latter contemplates him retrospectively as now no longer to be counted upon. So in the second passage cited, Prov. XIV., 18, "Simple ones have [always] inherited (נִחְלְוּ) folly, but cunning ones—they shall crown themselves with (יִכְתְּרוּ) knowledge;" the contrast is with respect to character and success, the former clause under the figure of an inheritance (which points backward to the bequest), and the latter under that of coronation (pointing forward to a reign thus begun). In like manner, we think we could show that in every such supposed case of equation, there is a skillful shifting in the kaleidoscope of parallelism, not only by the variety of terms employed (which are studiously non-synonymous), but also in the tenses used to enhance their effect. It is a great pity that versions will go on perpetually confounding and obscuring what the original meant to be diverse and perspicuous. This scholastic artifice of introducing a present tense, which the language systematically ignores, has robbed Hebrew poetry of a subtle significance, and greatly stripped it of its terse beauty. But whether the distinction in question can be made palpable in a translation or not, it certainly lies on the face of the text; and plain English readers are entitled to be made aware of its existence, instead of having it effaced by the substitution of an intermediate present tense. The two verb-forms were evidently not employed by the sacred writer at random; and we see no other way of reproducing them so simple and truthful as by means of the corresponding tenses in English. These surely would not be the Perfect and the Imperfect, but some form of the Preterite and the Future or Conditional.

When Ewald goes on to argue that the Hebrew Future may "indicate what was becoming realized in the past," we still more emphatically object to his doctrine of its use, although we recognize the subjective principle to which he ascribes this usage, "animated description," "the fancy of the speaker." The poetical passages which he cites do not require or sustain this view. In Job III., 3, "The day in which I was born" (אֵלֶּךְ), is not "in which I was *to be* born," but is simply the usual conditional relative, when the fact is assumed. In Job III., 11, "Why did I not die?" (אָמַוִּיתִּי), is rather "Why should I not have died?" and, by the way, the second member does not carry on the question and the negative, but reads "From a womb I issued, and I should [then] have expired." Ewald's other poetical passages, Job xv., 7; Ps. cxxxix., 16, are merely additional instances of the Future in relative clauses and in additional statements. He admits that this construction is rare in prose, and confined to certain combinations, especially with the particles אֵין, טָרָם, etc. To these has often been attributed a *conversive* force, but that explanation is unnecessary, although Ewald seems to favor it.

With טָרַם this sort of *attraction* is most striking. It is resolvable, however, by the ordinary influence of a relative clause; for this particle is really a noun, and its construction is elliptical, q. d., "there was a *not-yet* that it should," etc. Hence, like all other relative phrases, it is occasionally used with a past tense, when the fact is intended to be definitely and independently asserted. The construction of the verb with אֵן usually exhibits nothing very peculiar; the particle simply marks exactness of time, whether past or future. We note here a curious fallacy respecting it into which Delitzsch has fallen in his commentary on Job xxxviii., 21 (Clark's edition, II., 318), where he cites Ewald here "on the Future joined with אֵן regularly in the signification of the *Aorist*," and accordingly translates "thou knowest it, for then thou wast born (תָּלַדְתָּ)." Now to render the sense appropriate we need a Pluperfect, not an Aorist, "thou then hadst been born," for a child just born at the time would have known nothing. But this is not the force of the Future here. It is subjective, as ever, and therefore highly ironical, "For at that time thou *must* [on thy own presumption] have been born!" The sarcasm does not lie in יָדַעְתָּ, "thou knowest" (a preteritive, strictly *past ascertained*; like *oida* from *εἶδον*), which is simply declarative, as laying the basis for the demand of an answer. That אֵן with a Future does not necessarily form an Aorist is plain from Ps. II., 5, where no one would think of rendering יִדְבָּר "he spoke." See also Ps. xcvi., 12, etc. The conversive force of אֵן, in the comparatively few cases where it occurs, seems to depend upon the fact that a corresponding tense (the Praeter) precedes, with which it is co-ordinated, imitating in this respect the law of ׃ conversive, e. g., with a Future, Exod. xiv., 1; Num. xxi., 17; Deut. iv., 41; Josh. viii., 30; x., 12; 1 Kgs. viii., 1; but not with the Praeter, for Exod. xv., 15; Judg. v., 11, are not to the point. In the above passage of Job, however, this co-ordination is not found.

While upon this matter of ׃ conversive, we wish to call attention to what we conceive to be an error in grammarians and translators, who neglect the above law of co-ordination in its use. Even with the Future tense, despite the distinctive pointing which it always then has, we find the verb often rendered as a Future still; and yet more frequently is the connection with the preceding Praeter disregarded. Some go so far indeed as to deny the necessity of this last condition altogether. But although it is obscure in some cases, we believe it is never entirely absent; and that if the reader will diligently search he will always find the antecedent Past tense, either expressed or implied. A remarkable example occurs in Ps. viii., where the first verb in verse 6 [English, 5] (וַתַּחַסְרֶהוּ) is co-ordinated parenthetically with אָמַרְתִּי implied before verse 5, as a part of the *oratio directa*, which is likewise resumed in the second member of verse 7 (יִשְׁתַּח); while the intermediate verbs (תַּעֲטֶרְהוּ and תִּמְשִׁלֶּהוּ) are co-ordinated with the *oratio obliqua* in verse 5. The observance of these connections adds variety to the language, and illustrates the bearing of the declarative (objective) statements



upon the *constitution* of man in creation, and of the dependent (subjective) ones upon his *position* in providence. Rare instances, we admit, may be cited in which there is no appearance whatever of a Praeter antecedent in co-ordination with a converted Future; but these are due to the highly elliptical nature of the Hebrew language, which allows constructions of its laws difficult to make appreciable in English. For example, in Hosea viii., we have a converted future (וַיֹּאכְלוּ) immediately following a simple future (יִבְחֹ), “They will sacrifice flesh, and have eaten.” But it should be noticed that an incomplete clause (זִבְחֵי הַבְּהֵמָה) “the sacrifices of my holocausts,” precedes, which is put forward as an absolute statement (like a *nominative independent*), and is therefore regarded as equivalent to a Praeter tense. We may therefore resolve the construction, by filling up the sentence thus, “[They have taken] the sacrifices of my holocausts, [which] they [are pleased to] sacrifice [as] flesh; and they have eaten [them].” This brings out the crime of these formalists, who went through the routine of worship perfunctorily, sacrificing the victims merely *as* flesh, and eating them accordingly; even when these should have been wholly consumed as a burnt-offering. Other instances may similarly be resolved on the principle of an elliptical or undeveloped *protasis*, as is often the case with simple ׀ consecutive. They do not, therefore, invalidate the law of co-ordination.

It would be a curious and interesting question why the Hebrew alone of all the Semitic family exhibits this feature of ׀ conversive. Perhaps it would be found to be because it adheres more closely than any of its sisters to the distinctive use of the two tenses. The Aramaean, for example, which was its nearest neighbor and most intimately allied to it historically—for Laban spoke Aramaean (Gen. xxxi., 47), and that was probably the vernacular of Abraham himself (cf. Deut. xxvi., 5, where Jacob is called an Aramaean by descent)—has no trace of it; and this is very lax in its constructions of the verb, going so far—at least in its later forms—as to construct a new Praeter out of the Participle.

## MICAH, I., 5.

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The true reading of this prophetic word has been preserved in more than one ancient version, and after Houbigant<sup>1</sup> a few have substituted it for that of the Massoretic text.<sup>2</sup> But there are still commentators of note who do not follow it in their explanation of Micah,<sup>3</sup> or even pass it by without mention,<sup>4</sup> and the corrupt *textus receptus* serves as a proof-text in the history of the religion of Israel. It does not seem to be superfluous, therefore, once more to treat the critical problem ἀνωθεν, and, if possible, reach some permanent conclusion concerning it by a careful consideration of its pros and its cons.

After Micah has depicted the appearance of Jahwe in its fearful effects (1., 3, 4) he continues as follows, according to the Massoretic text:

בִּפְשַׁע יַעֲקֹב כָּל־זֹאת  
וּבַחֲטָאוֹת בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל  
מִי פֶשַׁע יַעֲקֹב הָלֹא שְׁמֵרוֹן  
וּמִי בְמוֹת יְהוּדָה הָלֹא יְרוּשָׁלַם

The meaning is clear: Jahwe comes to exercise judgment over his people; the apostasy of Jacob and the sin of Israel cause his wrath. In the second member the first word has been regarded, certainly erroneously, as plural,<sup>5</sup> and therefore it was written with wāw. חטאת corresponds to פֶשַׁע, and this was the reading of the LXX. among others. But otherwise the first half of the verse is perfectly clear. The Synonyms "Jacob" and "House of Israel," are used to designate the nation as a whole, and thus including the two kingdoms. In the second half, when they are named separately, each with its capital, Jacob stands for the northern kingdom, but the southern must be designated by its own proper name, Judah. The question: "Who is the apostasy of Jacob? Is it not Samaria!" is logically not strictly justifiable, because Samaria was not itself "the apostasy" of Northern Israel. But psychologically it is easily explained and justified. For Micah, the countryman, the sin of his people is concentrated in the capital and its corrupt aristocracy, and what he regards as certain in respect to Jerusalem, he also applies unhesitatingly to Samaria.

<sup>1</sup> *Notae Crit. in V. T. libros II.*, 570 seq.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Dathe, *Proph. Minores* ed., p. 211. T. Roorda, *Comment. in Val. Michae*, pp. 11-14. T. K. Cheyne, *Micah* (1882) pp. 18, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Among others, Hartmann, Justi, van der Palm.

<sup>4</sup> Among others, Ewald, Bunsen, Caspari, Umbreit, Hitzig-Steiner, Keil.

<sup>5</sup> E. g., by R. Smend (1875), *Moses apud Prophetas*, p. 55 seq., 57, 61. C. J. Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten* (1881), p. 167.

<sup>6</sup> Of course, in connection with the reading בְּמוֹת in the fourth member, concerning which I shall speak presently.

There remains the fourth member, which we desire especially to treat: "And who [are] the high places of Judah? Are they not Jerusalem!" Let us suppose for an instant that an entirely unanimous tradition bears witness for these words. Even then we should decide that Micah could not have written thus. In the first place, we have the parallel of Jerusalem and the high places of Judah, in the plural—a mistake in the form which surprises us, at least in the case of this prophet. But in the second place, the idea itself, the identification of those high places with Jerusalem strikes us as much more strange. Even though the capital had its *bamôth*,<sup>1</sup> yet it had fewer of them than any other city in Judea, because it had the temple, which is opposed to the *bamôth*, and in whose interest these were put away by Josiah<sup>2</sup> if not before this by Hezekiah.<sup>3</sup> To make Jerusalem responsible for that which took place outside of its walls, and in opposition to its wishes—this certainly could not occur to Micah. The relation of the members of the verse furnishes a further difficulty. Just as the third corresponds to the first, so also the fourth must refer to the second. But then it ought to read: "and who is the sin of Judah? Is it not Jerusalem!" There is really no one who denies this. But it is thought that the prophet has purposely expressed this idea in another form, and so enriched it with a new element. Hitzig expresses this as follows: "Die Fortsetzung sollte eigentlich lauten: *und wer die Sünden Israels u.s.w.* Statt dessen beneunt Micha diese Sünden; über das Präd. hinaus eilt er zum Subj., welches er als Präd. eines neuen Subj. erscheinen lässt." Thus: the worship of the high places proceeding from Jerusalem, and = the sin of Judah! How strange the first must have sounded to his contemporaries we have already remarked. But now the second: Is it possible that Micah has identified the *bamôth* with the sin of his people? That would have been formidable enough even for the Deuteronomist and for the Redactor of the Book of Kings, but for Micah it is inconceivable. He does not name the *bamôth* once. It is true, he expects that Jahwe in the future shall put away from the midst of his people not only the horses and chariots, the fortified cities and the forts, but also the graven images, the *maççebas* and the *asheras*.<sup>4</sup> But who warrants us to seek these things only in the *bamôth*,<sup>5</sup> and even if we were warranted in this, to take for granted that in their use the prophet saw *the sin* of Judah? He himself forbids us this. The perverting of justice, murder, corruption of judges, priests and prophets—these constitute, in his own words, "the apostasy of Jacob, and the sin of Israel," against which, filled with the spirit of Jahwe, he must prophesy.<sup>6</sup> No one who interprets him by his own words can permit the *bamôth* in chap. i., 5, to stand. But also the tradition obliges us to take them away. They belong to the official text, established in the second century after Christ. It is true, a few MSS. have

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kgs. xxiii., 8.    <sup>2</sup> 2 Kgs. xxii.    <sup>3</sup> 2 Kgs. xviii., 4; cf. verse 22 and Isa. xxxvi., 7.    <sup>4</sup> Chap. v., 9-13.    <sup>5</sup> Compare rather 2 Kgs. xxiii., 4, 6, 7, 11.    <sup>6</sup> Chap. iii., 8, cf. verses 9-11, and 1 seq.



חטאת for כמות,<sup>1</sup> but this can hardly be any thing else but a correction, either involuntary, or carefully weighed, and at any rate perfectly justifiable. For Symmachus<sup>2</sup> rendered τὰ ἐπιηλά, and two centuries later Jerome *excelsa*.<sup>3</sup> Neither is there any indication of a Talmudic variant. But opposed to the manuscript which was followed by the Palestinean scribes, we have the much older one whose reading is given by the LXX. With some unessential variations *all* the Greek Codices read: καὶ τίς ἡ ἁμαρτία οἴκου Ἰούδα; also the descendants of the LXX. as far as we can consult them, defend this reading.<sup>4</sup> But above all it is confirmed both by the Peshitto, and by the Targum, whose free translation (איפא חטו רבית חטאת בית יהודה) can be based only on יהודה הלא ירושלם. The last testimony especially seems to be very noteworthy, and when taken in connection with the other considerations, decisive. He who depends upon *authority* for the establishment of the text, has in truth no choice.

But, it is objected, even in this case the *textus receptus* deserves the preference. For: "probabilis prae ceteris ea est lectio, quae reliquarum ansam dedisse vel etiam earum elementa in se continere videtur."<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly, but also this highest canon of textual criticism must be applied with discrimination. The possibility that כמות was changed to חטאת on account of the parallelism I have already granted. But חטאת can just as easily have arisen from כמות. First, an accident may have taken place; בית יהודה may have been changed to כמות,<sup>6</sup> and when this had taken place חטאת had to yield. But another supposition is more probable, namely, that a congenial spirit to the Deuteronomist added "bamôth" *in margine* to "the sin of the house of Judah," and a later copyist inserted this, to him, correct explanation, and then omitted בית for the sake of euphony. The one possibility seems to stand opposed to the other; but only as long as it is thought possible, (which we have seen can not be supposed), that Micah wrote כמות יהודה. He who has been convinced by the foregoing that these words do not furnish a correct sense can not regard them as original, and must acknowledge the true reading to have been: ומי חטאת בית יהודה הלא ירושלם

<sup>1</sup> See Kennicott.

<sup>2</sup> According to a marginal note in the *Versio Syr. Hexapantis*; cf. *Origenis Hexapl.*, ed. II., 988. The version of Aquilla and of Theodotion have not come down to us, probably because they did not depart from the LXX.

<sup>3</sup> Roorda (p. 12), names him among the witnesses for the reading חטאת. Unjustly, as *excelsa* in the reading of all the MSS. of the Vulgate, and is expressly cited by Jerome as the reading of the Hebrew as opposed to that of the LXX. See his *Comment. in Michaeam* (Opp. ed. Vollers. T. VI., 483).

<sup>4</sup> *Vetus Lat.* (Sabatier. T. II.: 944. *Fragm. Vers. Antehier.* Ed. Ranke, II., p. 16) Arm., Syr., Hexapl., Arab. (cf. Ryssel in Tal. W. V.: 102 seq.).

<sup>5</sup> Tischendorf in *Proll. ad. Ed. N. T. Tam. majorem*, p. xxxiii, coll. xlii, seq.

<sup>6</sup> Just as, on the other hand, Vollers (Tal. W. IV: 3) supposes that בית is a mistake for כמות and that ἁμαρτία was subsequently added by the translator, from the preceding. His meritorious work on the *Dodekapropheton der Alexandriner*, would have gained in value, both here and elsewhere, if he had examined the "plus und minus des Alexandriner" and his "Varianten" at the same time, and so had presented them to the reader.

# ON THE TEXT OF PSALMS XIV. AND LIII.

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A study of parallel texts might, I believe, throw much light on questions of Old Testament criticism.

I offer the following suggestions on the origin of the variations in Pss. XIV. and LIII. in the hope that other students may be induced to follow out or to controvert the views here suggested.

I omit the headings and superscriptions as not belonging to the original texts. All other variations as they exist in the Massoretic texts will be seen in the following table :

Ps. XIV.	Ps. LIII.
אמר נבל בלבו.. אין אלהים	עַל־
השחיתו התעיבו עליה.. אין עשה-טוב	אלהים
יהוה משמים השקיף.. על בני אדם	
לראות היש משכיל.. דרש את אלהים	
הכל סר	כלו סג
יחרו נאלחו	
אין עשה טוב	
אין גם אחד	
הלא ידעו	
כל פעלי און	(omit כל)
אכלי עמי	
אכלו לחם	
יהוה לא קראו	
שם פחרו פחד	
כי אלהים בדר צדיק	לא היה פחד
עצמת חנך [חנף. LXX.] הבישתה עצת עני תבישו	כי אלהים פזר
כי יהוה מחסו	כי אלהים מאסם

The Psalm begins with an elegiac movement of four pentameters of accented syllables, after which it breaks into a rapid movement expressive of indignation. This movement consists chiefly of triplets and is continued to the end of the Psalm.

The words הלא ידעו were, I believe, originally אַל לא ידעו, a copyist having been misled by similarity of sound (cf. Ps. LXXXV., 7, where the LXX. evidently read אַל לא for הלא). If this emendation be admitted the rhythm is

improved and we observe a remarkable alternation in the Divine Names, אֱלֹהִים and יְהוָה occurring alternately *three times* before and three times after the name אֵל. This adaptation of Divine Names may, of course, be the work of a reviser, but it should be compared with the name יְהוָה, אֱלֹהִים, אֵל in Ps. L., 1.

A point, however, of much greater interest is the text which underlies the strange variation in the last three lines of our Psalm.

The common theory of a later Psalmist adapting the words of an existing Psalm to some special needs of his own time cannot possibly account for the variations in Ps. LIII.

It requires, indeed, a large credulity to believe that an inspired writer should have altered בָּרַר into פָּזַר, omitted the word corresponding to צָרִיק, changed עֲצָה *counsel* into עֲצָמוֹת *bones*! עֵנִי into חָנַךְ, besides other changes of similar sounding letters and all to destroy all possibility of rhythm and, in the end, to get such a sense as this:— “For God hath scattered the bones of him that encampeth against thee; thou hast put them to shame, because God hath rejected them.” (RV.)!

A writer would scarcely speak of an enemy whose bones had been scattered as afterwards “put to shame” and “rejected.”

But, apart from this, we have a better text suggested by the LXX., which evidently read חָנֵף *hypocrite* instead of חָנַךְ *him that encampeth against thee*.

But though the text in Ps. LIII. is in confusion, we cannot, therefore, assume that the parallel passage in Ps. XIV. represents the original text.

כִּי in one clause doubtless corresponds to כִּי in the other; so that we are not justified in translating

“for God is in the generation of the righteous”.....

“because the Lord is his refuge.”

Again, who are they that are addressed in the disconnected words “The counsel of the poor *ye* put to shame”?

There is then a strong *a priori* probability in favor of a common text from which these two texts diverged.

Towards the construction of such a text I offer the following suggestions:

A verb is needed where בָּרַר now stands. The parallel text (LIII.) suggests פָּזַר. Now the Chaldee בָּרַר (Dan. IV., 11) signifies *to scatter* and is only another form of פָּזַר.

If any one should object that בָּרַר is *Chaldee*, I suggest בָּנָה which is another synonym of פָּזַר (see Ps. LXVIII., 31) and which might easily have been mistaken for בָּרַר and then pointed בָּרַר.

Again, instead of צָרִיק which unfortunately has no equivalent in the parallel text of Ps. LIII., I suggest עָרִיץ, making indeed the same correction which all critical scholars agree to make in the text of Isa. XLIX., 24, where עָדִיק is undoubtedly a very old mistake for עָרִיץ.



Again, on comparing the parallel texts, עֵצָה is more likely to be a correction than עֲצָמָה; consequently I retain the latter, but point it עֲצָמָה<sup>1</sup> "weighty counsels."

Of the three readings עֲנִי (Ps. xiv.), חֲנֹךְ (Ps. liii.) and חֲנָף (LXX. on Ps. liii.) I prefer the latter. So the whole passage, as I propose to restore it, would run,

כִּי הַבּוֹר עָרִיץ  
עֲצָמַת חֲנָף הִבִּישׁ  
כִּי "מֵאָסָם

- i. e., "For God hath scattered the proud,  
The weighty counsel of the hypocrite he hath put to shame,  
For the Lord hath despised them."

The historical allusion being probably to the frustration of the counsel of Ahithophel (2 Sam. xv.).

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<sup>1</sup> See Isa. xli., 21, "bring hither your weighty counsels עֲצָמוֹתֵיכֶם saith the king of Jacob."

## MORE PHœNICIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN NEW YORK.

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The principal purpose in presenting the following Cesnola inscriptions here is to correct mistakes of various sorts, which appear in former publications. Sometimes fragments of the same object have been separated, as if belonging to different objects, some have been incorrectly read, and one, at least, had not been read or deciphered at all. The labors of other decipherers, however, are not to be undervalued. When Rödiger and Schröder tried their hands at them, the problem was more difficult than after they left them.

Former publications of these inscriptions, to which reference is here made, have been made, in whole or in part, and with various degrees of correctness, by Ceccaldi, in the *Revue Archæologique*, at various times from 1869-1871; by Rödiger, in *Monatsbericht der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, May, 1870, pp. 264-272; by Schröder, in the same for May, 1872, pp. 330-341; By W. Hayes Ward (a few omitted by Schröder) in *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, May, 1874, p. lxxxv; by di Cesnola, in *Cyprus*, Appendix, pp. 441, 442, and plates 9-12; and by Renan, in *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Tom I., Pars Prima, p. 44 seq., and Tabulæ V.-VIII.

In citing these publications, I give only the author's name and the number by which he designates the object. Ceccaldi I have not cited, as his work was scarcely that of a decipherer.

Two, and perhaps three, inscriptions formerly published I have omitted. One is Schröder's No. 9, or Rödiger's XLIX. *d.*, which I do not remember ever to have seen in the collection, and which does not appear in Cesnola's *Cyprus*. Renan gives it as his own No. 24, from a squeeze by Ceccaldi. It reads... אשמןמל...., being identical in matter with parts of other inscriptions; as of Ward's No. 3, Cesnola's No. 10. The other is Rödiger's "Cit[iensis] XLIX. *b.*, which Renan gives as his own No. 26, copying it from a squeeze taken by Ceccaldi, and remarking its absence from the present collection, as well as from Schröder's and Cesnola's publications. Schröder (pp. 333, 334) had remarked already, in 1872, that he could not find it, though he had searched for it diligently, for days, among all Cesnola's Phœnician objects in *Cyprus*. Schröder shows (it will also be seen below) that in several instances Rödiger published two, or even three, different copies of the same inscription, supposing them to be of different objects. This one reads... מלקרת'...., which is to be found on other and actual inscriptions. The third is Rödiger's XLIX. *n.*, which Renan gives as his own No. 38,

from a drawing by Ceccaldi. It reads קלם... as there given. The numbers here used to designate the inscriptions are those which the objects now bear in the museum.

The following are the inscriptions. They are all from the temple of Eshmun-melqarth, near Citium, and are votive inscriptions. The additions in brackets are only made where the missing matter seemed obvious.

II. (Schröder, 2; Cesnola, 4; Renan, 15.) Marble fragment. Two lines, obscure and fragmentary.

....יתן • חננב[על]....  
 ....א[ש] [נדר] על ב[נא]....

“.... Hananba'al (i. e., Hannibal) gave.... which he vowed in behalf of [his] s[on]....”

III. a. (Rödiger, xlix. a.; Schröder, 7; Cesnola, 14; Renan, 16, a.)

III. b. (Rödiger xliii. and xliv.; Schröder, 3; Cesnola, 1; Renan, 16, b.)

Parts of the same inscription, though not continuous. On the rim of a marble bowl.

....ן מלכיתן ... (b.) [יתן עבר [א]רני לאשמנמלק[ורת] (a.)

“...so]n of Melekyathon.... my Lord's servant gave to my Lord, to Eshmun-Melq[arth].” The first part doubtless belongs to the date sometime in the reign of Pumiyathon son of Melekyathon, king of Citium and Idalium. In the second part, instead of “my Lord's servant,” may be read the proper name 'Ebedadoni. The full legend of this inscription may be gathered from inscription No. I, the longest in the collection, which was published in *HEBRAICA* Vol. I., p. 25.

IV. (Ward, 2; Cesnola, 11; Renan, 19.) On the straight rim of a marble dish. Letters of very fine strokes.

.... מלך כתי ואד[יל]....  
 “.... king of Citium and Ida[lium]....”

Part of the date of a votive inscription.

V. a. (Rödiger, xliii. and xlvii.; Schröder, 4; Cesnola, 3; Renan, 23.)

V. b. (Cesnola, 12 (?) Renan, 17, a. and b.)

V. c. (Schröder, 20; Cesnola, 13; Renan, 20.)

All are parts of the same inscription, but not continuous, except that V. b. is in two continuous pieces. On rim of marble dish.

... (a.) [בימי]ר ׀ ׀ ׀ לירח... (b.) ׀ ׀ ׀ למלך מלכ[יתן]... (c.) ...ואדיל מנח...

“[In the day] 19 of the month...[in the year] 4 (?) of king Melek[ya]thon king of Citium] and Idalium, an off[ering]....”

The number of the year is uncertain, but it was 4 or more.

VI. (Rödiger xlv.; Schröder, 5; Renan, 22.) On rim of heavy marble bowl.

.... יתן מלץ כרסים • ל ....  
 “.... the royal interpreter gave to ....”



VII. (Renan, 39.) Fine letters on edge of marble bowl, much obscured, but perfectly legible.

.... עבד[מל]קרת לאדני לאשמנ[מל]קרת ....

"....[Ebed-]melqarth to his Lord, to Eshmun[-melqarth]...."

VIII. (Rödiger, xlv. i.; Ward, 3; Cesnola, 10; Renan, 23.) On rim of gypsum bowl or vase.

.... לאדני לאשמנ[מל]קרת ....

".... to his Lord, to Eshmunmel[qarth] ...."

IX. (Rödiger, xlviii.; Schröder, 6; Renan, 18.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... למלך מלכיתן מולך ....

".... [of ki]ng Melekyathon, ki[ng of Citium and Idalium] ...."

Part of the date of a votive inscription.

X. (Rödiger, part only, xlix. l.; Schröder, 15 and 21; Ward, 1; Cesnola, 21 and 30; Renan 25.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... לאשמנ[מל]קרת יברך ....

".... to Eshmunmel[qarth. May he bless."

End of a votive inscription.

XI. (Rödiger, xlix. c.; Schröder, 8, Cesnola, 15; Renan, 27.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... לאשמנ[מל]קרת יברך ....

".... to Eshmunmel[qarth. May he ble[ss]."

XII. (Rödiger, xlix. o.; Schröder, 17; Cesnola, 16; Renan, 34.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... נדר צלם ....

".... vowed an image ...."

XIII. (Rödiger, xlix. k.; Schröder, 14; Cesnola, 23; Renan, 37.) On convex outer surface of marble bowl. Two lines. (The bowl may have been the same of which No. XII. is a fragment.)

.... א

.... לא

The first line, perhaps "L[ord]," or the beginning of a proper name; the second, "to [his] L[ord]," or "to E[shmunmelqarth]."

XIV. (Rödiger, xlix. i.; Schröder, 13; Cesnola, 20; Renan, 29.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... ס[מל] או ....

".... this image (or, fictile object) ...."

XV. a. (Rödiger, xlix. h. q. f.; Schröder, 11; Cesnola, 19; Renan, 31.)

XV. b. (Rödiger xlix. m.; Schröder, 18; Cesnola, 17; Renan, 35.) Parts of the same inscription, but not continuous. On rim of marble bowl.

... א בן א [עבדמלקר] ת (b.)... אש יתן....(a.)

"..... which [Eb'edmelqar]th son of A.... gave....."

XVI. (Renan, 30.) On rim of gypsum vase or bowl.

.... מנח[ת ז אש] ....

".... an offe]ring this, which ...."

XVII. (Rödiger, xlix. e.; Schröder, 10; Cesnola, 6; Renan, 32.) On rim of blue marble bowl. The last letter partly broken off, and uncertain.

מקאחת ....

Uncertain.

XVIII. (Rödiger, xlix. g.; Schröder, 12; Cesnola, 5; Renan, 33.) On rim of marble bowl, and apparently the end of an inscription.

ח ת ....

preceded by a letter which may be ר, ד, ב, or ק. Wholly uncertain, but probably of similar purport to XVII.

XIX. (Rödiger, xlix. p.; Schröder, 18; Cesnola, 17; Renan, 28.) On rim of fine marble bowl.

.... לאש[מנמל]וקרת ....

".... to Esh]munmel[qarth ...."

XX. "Schröder, 19; Cesnola, 22; Renan, 36.) On a splinter from the rim of a fine marble bowl.

.... בן ....

Probably,

".... son ...."

## NOTES FOR BEGINNERS.

BY WILLIAM R. HARPER.

### . II.

**The Origin of Long Vowels in Hebrew.**—In the study of etymological forms, we must start with the fact, *for it is a fact*, that all vowel-sounds of whatever quantity, character, or value, can be traced back to one of the three short vowels ä, ĩ, ũ. In the case of every long vowel, therefore, we must ask the questions:—(1) From what original (short) vowel has this vowel come? (2) What influence was exerted to make it long? It is taken for granted that a vowel which was originally short would have remained short, had there not been some reason for its change. All long vowels, therefore, may be classified under four heads:—

1. Those which have arisen from the contraction of two distinct vowels; here belong

- (a) â (= a+a), as in קָם = qâm = qă-ăm for qă-wăm; so also שָׂת = šâth for šā-yăth.
- (b) î (= i+y or y+i), as in שֵׁן = yî-šan = yĭy-šan, and יָקִים = yā-qîm = yăq-yĭm for yăq-wĭm.
- (c) û (= u+w or w+u) as in הוֹסַר = hû-šar = hŭw-šar, and תְּשׁוּב = tă-šûbh for tăš-wûbh.
- (d) ê (= a+i= or y), as in בֵּין = bēn = băy(ĭ)n; פְּנֵי = p'ne = p'năy; תִּיטִיב = tē-tĭbh = tăy-tĭbh; עֲשֵׂה = 'asê = 'asăy.
- (e) ô (= a+u or w), as in יוֹם = yôm = yăwm; הוֹלִיד = hô-lĭdh (= hăw-lĭdh).

In an exhaustive treatment there must also be included under this class the comparatively rare *ö* (e) which, like *ö*, everywhere comes from a contraction of *ay*.\*

As the result of *contraction*, therefore, arise a very large number of the Hebrew long vowels. This is a principle common to all languages.

2. A second class includes those which have become long, as being characteristic of a nominal form; here belong

- (a) â (from an original ä) as in גָּנַב = gännâbh, כָּתַב k'thâbh.
- (b) î (from an original ĩ) as in יָמִין = yā-mîn = yă-mĭn; חָסִיד = hā-šĭdh = hă-šĭdh.
- (c) û (from an original ũ) as in קָטַל = qā-tûl = qă-tŭl; כָּרוּב = k'rûbh = kŭ-rŭbh, or kĭ-rŭbh.

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\* This vowel, indicated for the sake of distinction, by an italicized *e*, is found (a) in ה'ִלִּי Imperfects and Imperatives before the fem. plur. term. נָה, and after the analogy of these forms, also as the separating vowel in similar י'ע and ע'ע forms; (b) in forms of plural nouns before the suffixes ך and ךָ.



(d) ô (obscured from â, which is from an original ă) as in קטל (קטל) = qā-tl̄ = qā-tâl = qā-tāl; קרוש = qā-dhōš = qā-dhâš = qā-dhăš; קוטל (קטל) = qô-tl̄ = qâ-tl̄ = qă-tl̄.

It will be worth our while here to note carefully the origin of the forms of the Qāl Inf. abs. and Part. act., viz., קטל, קטל, or, as they are often, but improperly, written, קטול, קוטל.

The original stem-form, after the loss of the final ă, is qă-tāl; to get a *noun*-form, which shall serve as an infinitive, the ultimate ă is lengthened *characteristically* to â. Subsequently, because of certain euphonic laws in force every where in Hebrew, the penultimate ă is heightened to ā, the â is obscured to ô. Compare, now, the corresponding forms in Arabic and Assyrian qāṭāl and qā-tâl(u), which are, indeed, identical with the ground-form of קטל.

Starting again with the stem qă-tāl, by a *characteristic* lengthening of the penultimate ă, there was obtained a second nominal form qâ-tāl, which served as a participle. Here again by the working of the laws of heightening and obscuration qâ-tāl becomes (through qâ-tl̄) qô-tl̄. With the intermediate form qâ-tl̄ compare the Arabic and Assyrian participles, which have precisely this form.

It is to be remembered that vowels which became long as being *characteristic* of a nominal form belong to the primitive Semitic; that is to say, these vowels arose before the Arabic, Assyrian and other Semitic languages had become separate tongues. We do not mean to say that every instance of each of these formations was in existence before these languages had become separate; but that the use of a long (unchangeable) vowel to mark a nominal form originated in the so-called primitive Semitic tongue, and that all instances of this in these languages have arisen in accordance with this original usage. A distinction something like this is seen in דבר the verb and דבר the noun; in נקטל the verb and נקטל the noun (participle).

By the principle of *lengthening* (which is the change of ă to â, ĩ to î, ŭ to û, not that of ă to ā, ĩ to ē, ŭ to o) we may therefore explain a very large number of long vowels in Hebrew, the lengthening, in these cases, being understood to *characterize* the nominal form.

3. The third class includes those which have been *lengthened* (not *heightened*) in compensation. The cases are few and doubtful. As examples may be cited קטור for קטור, קמוש for קמוש. Under ordinary circumstances a vowel is *heightened* in compensation for the loss of a consonant, but in a few cases real lengthening takes place. Forms also like נקום, which = năqām = năq-wām = nă-qām, contain a vowel lengthened in compensation for the loss of ך. This class, however, needs no further notice.

4. The fourth class includes those vowels which have become long through the operation of that great euphonic law, the law of the tone; here belong

- (a) *ā* (always from an original *ā* and standing directly before or under the tone\*) as in דָּבָר from dā-bhār; אֶחָד from 'ā-khāl-tā; יָבֵשׁ from yāb-bā-šāth; מָקוֹם from māq-wām.
- (b) *ē* (from *ī*, and standing directly before or under the tone), as in בֵּן from bīn (for בְּנִי); לֵב from lī-bhābh; זֶקֶן from zā-qīn; סֵפֶר from šīphr; יֵשׁב from yī-šībh (for yīw-šībh).<sup>†</sup>
- (c) *ō* (from *ū*, and standing directly before or under the tone) as in קֶטֶל from q'ṭāl; כֹּל from kūl; גֵּרֶשׁ from gūr-rāš; חֹשֶׁךְ from hūšk.
- (d) *é* (always from an original *ā*, and standing directly before or under the tone†) as in אָחַד from 'ā-hādh; עָרַב from 'ārb; נֶעְשֶׂה from nā-'āśāy; תִּקְרָאנָה from tīq-rā-nā.

The vowels of this class have arisen by heightening, not lengthening. The term *heightening* is a technical one; the change is an artificial increment, or strengthening, brought about by the introduction of a foreign element, viz., an *a*-sound (cf. the *guna* in Sanskrit). The original vowel in these cases is therefore increased, *heightened* (e. g., *ī* to *ē*, *ū* to *ō*), and not merely prolonged, *lengthened* (e. g., *ī* to *î*, *ū* to *û*). These vowels may be described more distinctly as follows:—

(1) They are *tone-long*; i. e., their length is due to the tone or accent of the word. They are long because of their proximity to this tone.

(2) They are *artificially* long; i. e., they are not long by nature, or by origin. They *were* short, and would now be short but for the tone. Contracted long vowels and characteristically long vowels are so *by nature*, tone-long vowels are so *by position*.

(3) They are *euphonically* long; i. e., they are long merely for the sake of euphony. The heightened form has no meaning. It sounds better, and hence it is preferred.

(4) They are *changeable*; i. e. if the tone, to which they are indebted for their very existence, should be moved, they no longer have any reason for existence and so must suffer change.

(5) They are, for the most part, *tonic* and *pretonic*; i. e., they must stand with the tone or before it. The most important euphonic law of the Hebrew language, connected with this, may be stated thus: A short vowel standing directly‡ before or under the tone must be heightened.

It is to be noted in connection with this very brief and general statement of the law, (a) that heightened vowels occur sometimes in the antepretone, and likewise

\* This *ā* stands rarely two syllables before the tone, as in הָאֶרֶם, where, however, it is protected by Methegh; and, sometimes, in the post-tone syllable, as in קֶטֶלֶת.

† As in the case of tone-long *a*, this vowel occurs rarely two syllables before the tone, as in הָעֵפֶר, where, also like *a* it is maintained by means of Methegh.

‡ That is, without an intervening consonant.

in the post-tone syllable; and (*b*) that, within certain rigid limitations a short vowel is allowed to stand in a tone-syllable. All cases, however, of either of these seeming variations from the general law are capable of satisfactory explanation.

By the principle of heightening, therefore, we may explain a large number of long vowels; and this principle, like that of contraction and lengthening, is one common to all languages.

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**Repetition of Words.**—We frequently find a word repeated in Hebrew, e. g.:

- 1) Gen. XVII., 2   בְּמֵאדָּ מְאֹד *in high degree, high degree*;  
       1 Sam. II., 3   גִּבְהָהּ גִּבְהָהּ *proudly, proudly*.
- 2) Gen. VII., 2   שִׁבְעָה שִׁבְעָה *seven by seven*;  
       Exod. XVII., 16   מִדֹּר דֹּר *from generation to generation*.
- 3) Gen. XIV., 10   בְּאַרְתַּ בְּאַרְתַּ *many wells*;  
       2 Kgs. III., 16   גְּבִים גְּבִים *many ditches*.
- 4) Gen. XV., 18   הַנָּהָר הַגָּדֹל הַנָּהָר *the great river, the river Euphrates*.

From the study of these cases, it will be noted that different ideas are conveyed by the repetition. In the first cases cited (cf. also Gen. x., 21; xxii., 20) the idea is that of *emphasis* or *intensity*. In the second class (cf. also Gen. xxxii., 17; Exod. xvi., 5; xxiii., 30; xxv., 35; xxxvi., 4), there is indicated the idea of *distribution, entirety*. In the third class the idea indicated is that of *multitude*. The fourth class (cf. also Gen. xxv., 30; xxxv., 14) is quite different from the preceding classes. Here the noun is repeated in order to make it possible for a new idea to be added without rendering the construction a faulty one.

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**A Noun in the Construct Relation with a Clause.**—This construction may at first trouble the beginner. Note the following examples:

Exod. VI., 28   בְּיוֹם דְּבָרַ יְהוָה *On the day (that) Jehovah spake*.

1 Sam. xxv., 15   יְמֵי הַתְּהַלֵּכְנוּ אִתָּם *the days we walked with them*.

Ps. LVI., 4   יּוֹם אִירָא *the day I fear*.

Cf. also Gen. xxxix., 20; xl., 3; Exod. iv., 13; 1 Sam. iii., 13; 1 Kgs. xxi., 19.

It will be seen (*a*) that the clause is a relative one, though the relative may be omitted; (*b*) the noun which stands thus is one expressing a general idea of *place, time, or manner*.



## ➤CONTRIBUTED NOTES.◀

**Some Hebrew Lines.**—It was my good fortune to take a volume in my hands in which I found the lines I give below. They are, I think, very beautiful, and may interest you as well as the readers of *HEBRAICA*.

לא דברי מליצה  
לא שירה כתבתי;  
אך ישנתי ואקיצה  
ומחלומי נעצבתי  
וברוחי נדבתי  
ואאנח אנחה  
ואשיחנה בקנטרסי  
וירוח לי רוחה:

Read and accentuated as it would be by the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe, the meter reminds one of the lesser Sapphic, and indeed of the Sapphic stanza as employed by Horace.

Excepting the last word in the seventh line, the language is classical. I append a paraphrase:—

No word of wisdom,  
No song have I written.  
But I have slept, and then awoke,  
And am by my dream, with dim dread possessed;  
And in spirit am I broken,  
And with sorrow sorely pressed.  
Then I sighed it to this leaflet,  
And relief did then release me.

B. BERENSON.

*Harvard College, Dec. 22, 1885.*

**The Memorial Volume of Dr. Leemans.**—A unique and valuable collection of articles on biblical, Assyriological and other antiquarian topics has lately made its appearance in Europe, from which I have selected one or two for translation for *HEBRAICA*. It seemed to be desirable to publish an English translation of them not only because the articles which I have translated are in the Hollandish language, understood by only a few of our Semitic scholars in America, but also because there are only a very few copies of the collection in the country. The occasion of publishing the collection was the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the appointment of Dr. C. Leemans as Director of the Archæological Museum of Leyden, Holland. A circular was sent to the various Oriental and other scholars of Europe asking for a short contribution on some topic on which they had made recent original investigations. The articles thus obtained were collected in one volume, only a limited number of which was printed, and dedicated and formally presented to Dr. Leemans on December 3, 1885.

ABEL H. HINZINGA.

**The Emendation of 1 Sam. XVI., 20.**—You will permit a reader of your valuable quarterly, who, while not disputing for a moment the scholarship of Dr. John P. Peters, of Philadelphia, must positively take exception to some of his assumptions, and notably to one advanced in the number of *HEBRÆICA* for April, 1886. In a note under the name “Hebrew use of Numbers,” Dr. Peters directs attention to the biblical use of certain numbers for certain words; as, for instance, “five” for “few,” etc. But his suggestion concerning 1 Sam. XVI., 20, where for חמור he would substitute חמישה would seem to lack any authority. For, while the Hebrew construction of the verse which begins

..... ויקח ישי המור לחם

is certainly very peculiar, if not incorrect, I can perceive no warrant for the change, other than a mere conjecture; nor do the commentators consulted on this point appear to favor any such substitution.

I know full well that Dr. Peters is not one of those who are given to flimsy, ridiculous, and even destructive ideas about the sacred text, so common now-a-days. It is, therefore, in a spirit actuated by high regard for his abilities that I humbly disagree with him on the matter in question.

*Philadelphia, Pa., May 7, 1886.*

HENRY S. MORAIS.

**An Assyrian Precative in Dan. II., 20.**—In reading my Hebrew Bible yesterday, for a wonder I found an error of the press. A. Hahn's 8vo edition, Lipsiæ, 1833, in Dan. II., 4, has לעלמין לעלטין for לעלמין לעלטין. I mention it that others may not be puzzled by it as I was.

Then in verse 20 of the same chapter I was delighted to find an Assyrian—or if you prefer it, a Babylonian—Precative mood, which is formed by prefixing lu or li to any one of the forms of the Aorist. (Prof. A. H. Sayce's *Assyrian Grammar*, p. 66.) The form in Dan. II., 20 is לחוא.

Prof. Gesenius says of it in his *Lexicon* (Boston, 1844, p. 252, col. 2 Note.) “In the formation of the future of this verb there occurs this singularity, that in the third person singular and plural is found the prefix ל where we should expect the preformative ה; and this with the regular and usual signification of the future or subjunctive.” Then he refers to this passage among others and adds “forms of the same kind are found in the Targums. From all this it appears that the forms are not Infinitives, as is sometimes supposed, but that in such examples either the ל is put for the n un of the Syrians, or else these forms have arisen out of the Hebrew usage which began to put לקטל instead of יקטל.”

The learned professor, had he lived to see the light shed on the Hebrew by the cuneiform inscriptions, would have found a far better and perfectly simple explanation of the form which perplexed him. Prof. A. H. Sayce says in his “*Lectures on the Assyrian language and syllabary*,” p. 91, “The precative is generally used only in the third person; occasionally, however, it is found in the first and once or twice in the second.” The third person singular precative of sakanu is liiskun, and here we have lehevae with precisely the precative meaning. “Let the name of God be blessed from eternity to eternity,” or literally, “Let it be that the name of God be blessed,” etc.

It is a beautiful illustration of the help afforded by the Assyrian to the right understanding of the Hebrew scriptures.

THOMAS LAURIE.

*Providence, Dec. 14, 1885.*

## ➤EDITORIAL:NOTES.◀

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**Hebrew in College.**—For several years there has been a steadily increasing demand for Hebrew instruction in the College. There has never existed a really good reason why such instruction should not be offered. Those especially interested have been the professors of Hebrew and the Old Testament in the theological seminaries. For the sake of the strictly biblical work, which is crowded out by the necessity of giving time to the study of the language, for the sake of the linguistic study itself, which has suffered greatly from the lack of time given it and from the lack of interest which necessarily accompanies the unfavorable circumstances under which it has been pursued, a strong plea has been made for the introduction of Hebrew into the College curriculum as an elective. The results of the agitation made in this line already begin to show themselves. Within five years, it may safely be predicted, every first-rank institution in the land will have made provision for the study of Hebrew. With such instruction already offered in Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, Princeton and others, Brown, Dartmouth, Williams, Rochester, Ann Arbor and the colleges of equal rank cannot afford much longer to delay making similar provision.

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**The Summer Schools of Hebrew.**—At this date, July 20th, the Philadelphia School of Hebrew is past, the Chicago School is approaching its close, and the New England School is just opening. Thus far, the Schools of 1886 are in very many respects ahead of those of 1885.

It was supposed by many, and the supposition was a well-grounded one, that after one or two years the interest in such Schools would die out. The facts in the case seem to indicate the very opposite. Satisfactory as was the first session of the Philadelphia School, the second session, just closed, in point of numbers, interest and results accomplished, far exceeded it. Of the six sessions of the Chicago School, the one now in session is, by all, conceded to be the most encouraging. It is too early to speak definitely concerning the New England School. Its outlook, however, as well as that of the two remaining Schools (Chautauqua and Southern) is much better than last year.

It is sometimes suggested that there are too many Schools; that it would be better to consolidate them. There would be some advantages, it must be confessed, in such a plan. But when we consider that only by means of a School in a given section of the country, can that section be interested in this particular work, that not the least among the results accomplished by the Schools is the bringing together of the teachers, and the mutual profit which they thereby obtain, that in this work, everything else being equal, the greatest good will be accomplished by reaching the largest possible number of students, it may be doubted whether the consolidation of the Schools would not practically defeat the very ends sought for in the work of the Institute of Hebrew.

There is a measure of disappointment when the attendance in any school falls below fifty. It should be remembered, however, that with the establish-



ment of each new school, the territory of each school already established is narrowed. Five schools with an attendance of fifty each will accomplish far more than one with an attendance of one hundred. Nor is the success of the work to be measured by the results directly manifesting themselves. A public sentiment is being created in the several sections in which schools are established, which in time will do much toward bringing about the ends directly sought in the work of these schools. Were it not for the extreme difficulty of obtaining means with which to carry on the work, it is certain that still other schools might be inaugurated with great advantage.

And further, are there not many institutions in the country fully equipped with instructors, the number of whose students does not reach fifty? There is no reason why we should not have a hundred or more students in each of our Summer Schools; but so long as fifty can be brought together for work in a line which has hitherto been so neglected, there is real ground for encouragement. What we need is, not a less number, but a greater number of schools, and the indications are that the number will increase.

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**Professors of Hebrew.**—In the several numbers of the present volume of *HEBRAICA*, there have been published the names of the various professors of Hebrew (and kindred subjects) in this country, in Britain and on the continent. It is, perhaps, too much to hope that in these lists no mistakes have been made and no names omitted. They furnish, however, a comparatively accurate idea of the number of men engaged in this department of study. A careful study of these lists is not without profit. Many of the names have become very familiar to all Bible-students. Others, now unknown to many, will become famous in the years to come. From one stand-point, we may be surprised that so many men are engaged in a department which to the world seems narrow and unproductive. But when we compare the number with the vastly greater number at work in nearly every other line of scientific and theological study, and when we consider the magnitude of the department and the extreme practical importance of many of the questions which must be settled in it, we must at once feel that there is room for many more workers.

Those engaged in Semitic work should find in the examination of these lists much encouragement. With so large a number of men at work in a given line, surely valuable results may be expected.

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**Assyrian Manual.**—When this number of *HEBRAICA* reaches its readers, the *Assyrian Manual* by Prof. D. G. Lyon, published by the American Publication Society of Hebrew, will be ready for delivery to purchasers. The distinguishing feature of this work is that it makes transliterated Assyrian inscriptions the basis on which the beginner is to build. While making it possible, by reading largely in transliterated texts, to gain a good knowledge of Assyrian grammar and the lexicon, without the task of memorizing the cuneiform signs, the *Assyrian Manual* also supplies ample means for acquiring the signs and for practice in reading texts in the original. The book will prove a welcome aid to those Hebrew students who for linguistic or theological reasons desire to make the acquaintance of a great literature cotemporaneous with the Jewish, and presenting many of the most interesting points of contact with the Old Testament.

## ➤BOOK :NOTICES.◀

### A REVIEW OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF EZECHIEL.\*

This book breaks new ground. It flows in rich land, but sometimes throws up an unprofitable subsoil over the productive upper layers. It is the first systematic attempt made on the basis of the best critical material available, and with a learned acumen found only in few gifted scholars, to restore the Hebrew text of Ezechiel as far as possible to its original form. It is a critical text of the prophet, the author attempting, as he himself repeatedly states, to edit this text in the same manner and method in which thorough classical scholars edit Latin and Greek authors. It is thus an attempt to solve the most difficult problem of lower or textual criticism in the case of one of the greater prophets, and thus to apply to practice what the theoretical discussions of European and American scholars, especially since the publication of the revised translation of the Old Testament, have proved a *pium desiderium*. What New Testament scholars have in the last century, and especially in the last three decades, done for the text of the New Testament, that now is to be attempted in the case of the Old also, and Cornill is the first to step forward with the results of his studies.

Starting out from the hypothesis of Lagarde, maintained with a great deal of learning in his "Remarks on the Greek Translation of Proverbs" in 1863, "that our Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament are based upon a single copy, the corrections of whose errors in writing they also copy as corrections, and whose accidental incompleteness they have adopted," Cornill expects little or no help for the restoration of the primitive from the Hebrew MSS., especially as this Hebrew prototype manuscript dates back probably only to the times of Hadrian, all the more importance must therefore be attached to the earlier and other critical helps; in the first place, to the Septuagint, which represents a text three hundred and fifty years earlier than the Massoretic archetype, and in the second place, to the Targums, the Peshitto and the Vulgate. As the leading stress is laid upon the Septuagint, and the value of this aid can be estimated and utilized only when the acknowledged corrupt form of the Greek translation is sifted, weighed and corrected, the greater portion of the Prolegomena of 175 pages is devoted to the discussion of the Septuagint as a critical help to restore the original text of Ezechiel. This discussion covers pages 13-109, and it must be pronounced probably the fullest and most satisfactory, though rather sanguine, treatment of the troublesome problem. The whole Prolegomena are indeed a model of industry and of patient and painstaking detailed investigation. In studying them we were impressed by the fact that Cornill has done nearly all of this work with literary aids which are also at the disposal of scholars on this side of the Atlantic. With the exception of the treatment of the Ethiopic translation made from the Septua-

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\* DAS BUCH DES PROPHETEN EZECHIEL, herausgegeben von Lic., Dr. Carl Heinrich Cornill, A. O. Professor der Theologie in Marburg. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich. 8vo, pp. xii, 515.

gint, we do not think that any portion of his argumentation is based upon manuscript authority. In America the problem of textual criticism and the correction of the Massoretic text has been discussed in its whole length and breadth. The manner of Cornill's research shows that American scholars have also tools at hand with which to engage in similar work.

On the basis of these critical aids Cornill has then given us what in his judgment is a text as near as possible to the original as this came from the hands of the prophet himself. The text of Ezechiel has always been acknowledged to be of a troublesome character, and Cornill has made wide use of his critical pruning-knife. His changes and departures from the Massoretic text are exceedingly many, and but comparatively few verses have been left in the traditional shape. Thus, e. g., in chapter I. only verses 19 and 28 are left unchanged; in chapter II., only verses 1 and 7; in chapter IV., only verses 1, 2, 15, 16, 17; in chapter V., only verses 1, 3, 10; in chapter XIX., only verses 3, 4, 6; in chapter XXV., only verses 1, 2, 4, 5, 11. Sometimes a chapter undergoes fewer alterations, as, e. g., chapter III., where verses 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 17, 22, 23, 24 and 26 are left intact. We think, though, that on the average at least from twenty to twenty-five changes are made in every chapter, so that the forty-seven chapters of Ezechiel will show up more than one thousand departures from the received text. Many of the changes are quite radical, e. g., chapter I., 1 is considered a gloss, as are also some verses in nearly every chapter, e. g., VIII., 8; X., 1, 5, 8-18 (entire); XI., 11, 12; XII., 10 (almost the entire verse); XVI., 21, 27, 42; XX., 29; XXII., 8; XXIII., 26; XXXII., 25; XL., 12, 40, 41, and others. These are all inclosed in brackets and at once recognized. It must be remembered that these are rejected on subjective grounds alone, and against the unanimous voice of the critical apparatus. Where omissions are made on the basis of this or that ancient authority, or changes are made which are sanctioned by even one of these authorities, no special note is made of it in the text, and the difference in the reading can be learned only by a comparison of the traditional text with the proposed revision. Occasionally an entirely new arrangement of the verses or sections of verses is made. Thus, e. g., in chapter VII., the following is the order: 1, 2, 6 (part), 7 (part), 8, 9, 5, 6 (part), 10, 7 (part), 11, 12, etc.; in chapter XLI. the following order is found: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (part), 6 (part), 5 (part), 7 (part), 6 (part), 7 (part), 9, 11, 8, 10, 12 (part), 15, 12 (part), 13, etc.

As to the merits of the result it may be difficult to judge. We certainly have a smoother and an easier text than the traditional; but have we one that is more historical and correct? In many respects most assuredly, but just so assuredly not in all. Cornill presupposes that Ezechiel of a necessity wrote a model and classical Hebrew; and on the score of style, and it seems to us on the basis of modern and not ancient rhetoric, he allows himself to make alterations, and especially omissions, that do not seem warranted by a cautious criticism. We were especially astonished at the number of omissions made from the Massoretic text; and in the first six chapters, which we examined especially with a view to this feature, we are inclined to think that Cornill reduces the bulk of the Ezechiel text by one-twelfth or one-fifteenth. The additions made to the text, marked by asterisks, are comparatively rare, and never embrace more than one or two words. The result is that Cornill's text is considerably shorter than the traditional; and with our knowledge of the origin and history of the Massoretic text we do not think this entirely justified. We are convinced that Cornill has



omitted matter on the ground of style and for the purpose of securing clearness, which the great prophet himself penned. This is but one ground on which we object to the multitude of changes made. Other reasons could also be urged. But notwithstanding this we cordially welcome this work. Its purpose is excellent and its method good, only it seems to us not cautious and careful enough. But as the critical apparatus is complete, the reader has the means at hand to control the alterations and correct wherever necessary. We are glad to hear that the author proposes to publish the text of Isaiah and Jeremiah in a similar manner.

GEORGE H. SCHODDE.

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### A NEW COMMENTARY UPON THE BOOK OF JOB.\*

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The Book of Job, which in regard to its linguistical structure as well as in regard to its contents is one of the most difficult in the whole Hebrew Bible, has found a new and, let us say it right here in the beginning, a fully competent commentator in the erudite Dr. Szold, who is a rabbi in one of the Jewish congregations of Baltimore. Our only desire, here, is to call the attention of Bible students to this excellent commentary. In his introduction the author treats upon many interesting points. He discusses the questions, What is the real purport of the Book of Job? Is it based upon real historical facts, or is it only a didactic poem, the fundamental story of which is but a parable? To what class of literature is the book to be assigned? At what time was it written? Is it originally the production of a Hebrew writer, or is it a translation from the work of an elder non-Hebrew author? and so forth. As to the purport of the book, Dr. Szold comes to the conclusion that it is not a so-called Theodicy, as has been and still is commonly supposed; that it is not a vindication of Divine Providence; not an attempt to solve the ancient riddle, Why is the way of the wicked happy, and *vice versa*? Its purpose, according to Szold, is rather to demonstrate that and how a truly God-fearing man remains steadfast and firm in his piety amidst all tribulations. A metaphysical problem is not to be solved by the Book of Job, but its aim and intent are to give an important moral lesson. The running commentary to the book itself is very lucid and instructive, and many difficult and dark passages are made clear by it. That here and there explanations should have been given, to which we might not so readily consent, is certainly to be expected. But at any rate, Szold's exegetical labors command fullest consideration. With the previous exegetical literature on Job the author is familiar. He is not polemical, yet it soon becomes evident that he has studied the commentaries of Delitzsch, Ewald, Hitzig, Schlottmann, Dillmann, etc., as well as those of the elder and later Jewish commentators, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, the Qimhides, Moses ben Nahman, Luzzatto, Malbim, and others.

Szold's commentary is written from beginning to end in neo-hebraic language. But the language is flowing and easy. Bible-students who have had not much practice in reading Hebrew post-biblical or neo-hebraic books, can be assured that they will find the study of Szold's commentary easy enough and at the same time highly profitable, after having devoted some hours to the same. The excellent typographical execution of the book deserves our special appreciation.

B. FEISENTHAL.

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\* THE BOOK OF JOB WITH A NEW COMMENTARY. By Benjamin Szold. Baltimore: H. F. Siemers, 1886. Pages xxiv and 498.

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BY IRA M. PRICE,  
Leipzig, Germany.

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